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HISTORY  
OF  
THE BACKWOODS;  
OR,  
THE REGION OF THE OHIO:  
AUTHENTIC,  
FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS.  
EMBRACING  
MANY EVENTS, NOTICES OF PROMINENT PIONEERS,  
SKETCHES OF EARLY SETTLEMENTS,  
ETC. ETC. ETC.  
NOT HERETOFORE PUBLISHED.

Still to the whiteman's wants there is no end;  
He said, 'beyond those hills he would not come.'  
But to the western seas his hands extend,  
Ere yet his promise dies upon his tongue.

DRAKE,

Let them come with the pipe; we will tread it to dust,  
And our arrows of war shall ne'er moulder with rust.  
Let them come with their hosts; to the desert we'll flee,  
And the drought and the famine our helpers shall be.

PIKE.

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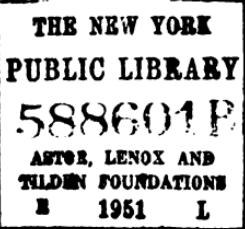
BY A. W. PATTERSON.

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## PREFATORY REMARKS.

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The history of the West abounds with memorable and thrilling incidents. The early discovery and settlement of the country by the French, and their subsequent struggle to retain an occupancy of it, forms a period of the most interesting character. The warfare with the savages, then ensuing, long, bloody and unremitting, furnishes a series of incidents but little less engrossing.

Our endeavor has been to present these events, embodied and arranged, in the order they occur. The motive to the undertaking has been a desire to supply a vacancy in the general history of the country, which may not have failed to be very generally remarked. Much of our western history, it is known, has never been written, while the published portions, to a great degree, have not been collected. To accomplish these objects, therefore, has been the present attempt. How far we may have succeeded, remains with our readers to determine.

A strict regard to impartiality, and correctness of statement, has been the constant aim. And where quo-

tations occur, which are frequent, it has been from a knowledge of their undoubted authority, and from a conviction that our own language could not present the matter in a more acceptable garb.

Neville B. Craig, Esq., Col. A. J. Faulk and others who have kindly extended us assistance in the collection of materials for the work will accept our thanks.

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HISTORY  
OF  
THE BACKWOODS;  
OR THE  
REGION OF THE OHIO.

CHAPTER I.

The Backwoods—Discovery of the Ohio comparatively late—Spaniards at the mouth of the Ohio, at an early period—French migrate to the St. Lawrence—Their missionaries along the lakes—Indian tales of a great river in the west—Marquette and Joliet sent to explore it—Mississippi discovered—La Salle's expedition—Illinois colonized—early name of the Ohio—French along the Wabash—First *voyaguers* on *La Belle Riviere*.

THE primitive name bestowed by the early pioneer on the Western country, may be new, as seemingly inappropriate, to many within its limits at the present time; however, a quarter of a century has little more than elapsed since the fertile valley extending westward from the mountains, in Pennsylvania and Virginia, was still familiarly known as the “*Backwoods*.”

The earliest permanent Anglo-settlements in the west, being made on the Ohio, towards its sources, this portion of the country, more particularly, continued to retain the rude, but early name; which it still bore, even at a time, when, with strict propriety, it

might only have been applied to the forests of Missouri.

A comparatively long period elapsed after the colonization of the continent, on the northern and eastern coasts, before this portion of it seems to have become known.

The Spaniards, as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, landed on the coast of Florida; and in 1539, one of their adventurous discoverers, the restless De Soto, at the head of "nine hundred steel-clad warriors," penetrated to the Mississippi. Where wandering "in search of gold, of civilized Indians, and of miraculous fountains," fearlessly encountering the dangers of the forests, and the hostilities of the natives, the unfortunate adventurer, at length, lost his life; and his men, to a considerable extent, became dispersed; some of whom, it is supposed, reached the Ohio, as a tradition was extant among the Kaskaskia Indians, many years afterwards, that they had destroyed the first white men they had ever seen.

This, is probably the earliest notice we have of the west being visited by Europeans. The next is by the French, after the lapse of a long period.

The south being occupied by the Spaniards, principally in pursuit of discoveries, and the east Atlantic coast by other nations, the attention of the French was naturally directed to the north; where their 'settlements were accordingly commenced. They founded Quebec in 1608, two years after Jamestown was built by the English, on the coast of Virginia.

However, a long period had still to elapse before adventurers, from either of the infant colonies, had even crossed the intermediate wilderness, or, perhaps, heard of the great valley of the west.

The French emigrants bearing the cross with them to the banks of the St. Lawrence, their reverend fathers eagerly pushed forward into the depths of the forests, in pursuit of their sacred labors, among the natives. By the untiring industry of these missionaries, discoveries were soon made along the great lakes of the north, and eventually, through the country to the south-west.

About sixty years after their settlements were commenced, and when they had already extended to the Ontario, a grand series of discoveries to the north-west, was commenced under the auspices of the government, which finally led to the exploration of our own portion of the western valley.

For some time their missionaries and traders among the Indians on the upper lakes, had been told, that, far to the sunset, was a great river, which "neither flowed to the north nor to the east,"\* but of its source or termination they knew nothing. And many were the strange tales told of the "*endless river*," which they had seen in their long excursions, but no information of it could be given by them, further than it was a stream of mighty appearance, and its waters seemed to flow in a contrary direction to those of the lakes.

The French, enchanted with these strange accounts, and ever ready to set out on adventurous expeditions, were soon resolved on a journey to the "great river." It was thought it must discharge its waters into the western seas, and if so, a north-western passage through it to the East Indies, might be effected. It therefore became a matter of great moment, to ascertain something definite concerning it. Accordingly Father Marquette, a recollect monk, who had been a missionary among the

\*Charlevoix.

Indians high on the lakes, and Sieur Joliet, an Indian trader of Quebec, with a small party, were commissioned by M. Talon, Intendant of New France, as Canada was then called, to depart on a journey of discovery. Proceeding through the great chain of northern lakes, in their bark canoes, to the mouth of the river of the Foxes, and up that stream to its source, they crossed, accompanied by Indian guides, bearing their canoes on their shoulders, to the Ouisconsin; where, launching their frail crafts on the waters of the west, the discoverers "went solitary down the stream," gazing with admiration on the flowery banks, hill-sides and prairies of summer; and on the 17th June, 1673, swept into the broad current of the "*great river*," bearing the name of *Mechasepi*, among the natives.

Floating down the wide expanse of waters, no less imposing than had been represented by the Indians, thridding "green isles," that swelled in striking grandeur from the ocean-bosom of the stream, and sweeping by alternate woodlands and prairies, on either hand, while no sound broke the strange silence of the distant scene, but the dip of their oars, the travelers at length arrived at the mouth of the Missouri, called by the Indians in the neighborhood, the *Pekitanoni*. Proceeding a few leagues farther down, they reached three large villages of the *Illini* Indians,\* where they were hospitably received by the thronging natives, with a "deference due but to superior beings."

\*The Illinois Indians were composed of seven tribes, the Miamies, Michiganies, Mascotins, Kaskaskies, Kahokias, Peorias and Taumerwaus, residing at this time on both sides of the Mississippi. They are represented as being very numerous and powerful; and are said to have been able, within the recollection of the whites, to bring eight or ten thousand warriors into the field; but no people were, perhaps, more peaceful.

After descending the "endless river," to a considerable distance, further discoveries were abandoned, and the delighted voyagers hastened to return to report the success of their journey. And turning up the Illinois, they glided over its silvery wave, along emblossomed banks and through green woodlands, with no less delight than had been constantly realized from the moment they had entered the seemingly enchanted regions of the west. On reaching the shores of Michigan, the gentle Marquette remained a missionary among the Indians, where he eventually died; and Joliet hastened to Quebec to publish an account of their discoveries and adventures; in which his own flowery language afterwards, seemed too meagre for description. Of a warm imagination by birth, as well as it being the prime of summer, when the flower-garlanded wilderness would appear more like a region of fancy, than real, some allowance was to be made for the extravagant accounts of these adventurers; while an allusion to them in like language, may be entitled to the same indulgence.

Several years elapsed before the discoveries of these travelers were followed up. The noble De Salle was the first to retrace their footsteps. He proceeded on his journey and descended the newly-discovered river, which he called St. Louis, to its mouth; where he arrived on the 7th of April, 1683. Soon afterward a number of other adventurers followed; and ultimately, lured by the exaggerated accounts of the Eden-like land, crowds of emigrants, forsaking the bleak shores of the St. Lawrence, took up their abode on the genial plains of the Illinois. Conforming themselves to the manners and customs of the barbarous, though peaceful natives, with comparatively few hostilities, and little difficulty,

the French won an influence over them, which no other people has since been able to accomplish.

Nearly simultaneous with the settlement of the Illinois, others were commenced by the French in the south, on the Isle of Dauphin, and the main-land opposite, at the entrance of the Mobile Bay; in the neighborhood of which, a Spanish settlement had been commenced, a short time previous.

It was not until several years after the French became established in the region of the Illinois, that they seem to have traversed the channel of the Ohio. But at what time their first batteaus skimmed the bosom of the "*Beautiful river*," towards its sources, is unknown. That portion of it lying above the entrance of the Wabash, as well as the region through which it flowed; seems to have been long neglected in its exploration. Nevertheless, many a song of their sprightly *voyaguers* had, doubtless, echoed along its wooded banks, years before the first English adventurer, penetrating the passes of the mountains, had plunged into the wilderness of the west.\*

It is known that the French were particularly fond of pursuing discoveries in every direction in which their light boats might be rowed. And it has been supposed that the Ohio and its tributaries had been ascended to their spring heads, at a much earlier date, than either history or tradition, now informs.

The first route pursued by emigrants and adventur-

\*The English long and strenuously contended that their discoveries in the west, were of an earlier date than those of the French. They asserted that the Indian guides who had accompanied some of their exploring parties, were the first who gave the French information of the western country. But the fallacy of their arguments is too obvious to merit special attention.

ers from the St Lawrence to the Mississippi and southern colonies, had been by the way of the lakes, and across to the Wabash, which they descended to a certain point, now Vincennes; from which place they crossed by land to their settlements on the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Kaskaskia.

Thus, it probably happened, that the Ohio long remained unnoticed, except at its mouth, and which, in truth, had been mistaken for the Wabash, for it seems the stream had not been pursued around to the Mississippi, on account of those who had descended it from the Miami of the Lakes, to the place spoken of, now Vincennes, being deterred from tracing it any farther, from the accounts they received from Indians there, of war-like nations inhabiting its lower banks, whom it was dangerous to pass. Therefore when they crossed by land from that place to the Mississippi, and observed the Ohio, pouring in its floods, they naturally supposed it to be the same stream, which they had descended part of the way, and consequently gave the same name to both.

The name Wabash, or Oulashie, originated with La Salle, who, as he passed the mouth of the Ohio, while descending the Mississippi, had given it that name; consequently when the river, now known as the Wabash, was discovered towards its source, it received that name, from the supposition that it was the same stream.\*

But afterwards, when it was discovered, as Father Gabriel Maust, missionary at Kaskaskia, wrote in 1712, that "the Oulashie has three large branches, one of which," meaning the Ohio, "extends as far as the Iroquois," it was perceived that the branch "heading among

\*Address of Judge Law before a society at Vincennes.

the Miamis" was only a tributary to the former, and therefore not entitled to its name, farther than its confluence with the superior branch, consequently the main stream, already called '*La Belle Riviere*,'\* with propriety assumed that name, throughout its length to the Mississippi. Thus it was this stream once called the Oulashie, exchanged that for a more beautiful appellative.

As the discoveries of the French in the north and the west, must principally be attributed to the bold perseverance of their missionaries, the first explorations made in the valley of the Ohio, may likewise be ascribed to them. Although no accounts on record, inform us of their having floated their feather-light crafts on the bosom of the upper Ohio as yet, we, nevertheless, have reason to conclude, they had been along it at a much earlier day. Who, so zealous were they in the noble work of the conversion of the savages, they fearlessly braved the perils and the hardships of the wilderness in every direction—"mingling happiness with suffering, and winning enduring glory by their daring zeal." It has been said that the labors of these "Apostles of the wilderness" are blended "with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America; that not a cape was turned or a river entered, but they led the way."† Doubtless, then, for years that left as little trace behind, as the dip of their oars, may have many a

"Merry Jean Baptiste  
Paddled his pirogue on *La Belle Riviere*,  
While from its banks some lone Loyola priest  
Echoed the night-song of the *voyaguer*."

It is to be regretted, that so few of the many interesting scenes and adventures that must have occurred with

\*The Beautiful River. †Bancroft.

the early discoverers of the west, have not descended to us.

The dim mist of years now brooding over the early history of the country, throws an illusory interest over it, fascinating in the extreme. The El Dorado of the Frenchman, whether in the character of the trader or the missionary, he thridded the forest-shaded streams and plunged into the gloom of the wilderness, with a fondness as untiring as unparalleled.

Now in our latter days, when our leviathans ride upon these same waters, where sported the light batteaus of that sprightly people, and our villages rise where gleamed the council fires of the red natives, when they held "talks," with the adventurous foreigners, the change in the scene, is as striking as the change of actors. And when at the present day, the solitary wanderer from '*La Belle France*,' may visit these places where his enterprising countrymen acted so prominent a part, in the history of the country, it may not be reckoned strange, that the gloom of the recollection, for the time, should darken the flow of his naturally animated spirits.

## CHAPTER 11.

The Massawomees, first known residents in the Ohio region.—Five Nations and Lenni-Lenape beyond the Mississippi.—Their migration and warfare with the Allegawé.—Their settlements east of the Mountains and near the St Lawrence.—War of the Five Nations with the Adirondacks.—Their subsequent victories over numerous nations.—Migration of the Delawares and Shawnees to the Ohio.—Joncaire.—His mission to the Ohio.—Disaffection of the English colonies towards the French.

At the time the Ohio Valley became known to the whites, it was the abode of a large confederacy of savage tribes, called by the eastern Virginia Indians, the Massawomees; a portion of whom, perhaps, were scattered bands of the Five Nations, as that people was likewise known by the same name, and their traditions rather confirm the supposition.

The Massawomee confederacy, however, to a great extent, seems to have been composed of numerous remnants of broken tribes, who had been subdued by the Five Nations, and afterwards taken under their protection, and, in consequence of living under the government of their conquerors, received their general name.\*

The earliest accounts we have of this portion of the country, commences with the traditional history of the Five Nations and the Lenni-Lenape, or Delawares.†

\*The Five Nations, in common with these early inhabitants of the Ohio region, were called by the eastern Virginia Indians, the Massewomekes or Massawomees. They were called by the Dutch, Maquos or Makakause, and to the French they were known as Iroquois. "Their appellation at home was the Mingos, and sometimes the Aganuschion or United People."

†Lenni-Lenape, or Original People, was the proper name of this na-

These warlike, nations it would appear, originally dwelt beyond the Mississippi; who at an ancient period migrated hence; and being numerous, subdued in the course of their march, all the primitive residents of the country on this side.

The most powerful opposition they met with, according to accounts lately extant among the Delawares, was from a people, no less formidable than themselves, called the Allegawe, who inhabited the banks of the Allegheny, and from whom they say this stream derives its name.\*

This ancient and once powerful race of people, are represented as being unusually tall and athletic, and possessing other characteristics which distinguished them from all other nations of the country. They are said to have arrived to a comparatively high degree in the use of the arts, and many of the fortifications that still remain in the vicinity of their abode, it is stated by other Indian nations, were erected by them.†

On the approach of the combined forces of the Five Nations and Delawares, a long and bloody contest ensued. The Allegawe, resident from time immemorial on the soil they had ever successfully defended, valiantly repulsed, for a time, the more numerous forces of the invaders. But at length, the united strength of their enemies proved superior; and the patriotic primitives were totally routed, or exterminated.

The triumphant emigrants continuing their march

tion. They were sometimes called by their neighbors Wapanache.—They received the name of Delaware from Lord De La Ware, who entered the Delaware Bay in 1610, which he named after himself; the Lenni-Lenape then residing on the banks of this river, were in consequence given the name.

\* Heckewelder. † Cumming's Sketches, page 455.

eastward, separated on leaving the region of the west. The Delawares, composed of three tribes, the Turkey, the Turtle, and the Wolf or Munsy, commenced their settlements east of the mountains, occupying the country from the Hudson to the Potomac.

The Five Nations, known as the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, and the Senecas, settled in the country north of the Lenni-Lenape; and when the French arrived on the St. Lawrence, early in the seventeenth century, they found them living where Montreal now stands.

At this time they were at war with the Adirondacks—"a powerful tribe residing three hundred miles above Trois Rivieres." By this valiant tribe the confederacy was at length effectually repulsed, and driven back from the St. Lawrence to the borders of the lakes. After remaining here inactive for a time, their belligerant enthusiasm was again enkindled, and a war was waged against the Satanas or Shawanans,\* dwelling on Ontario and Erie. Being more successful against these new antagonists, they completely vanquished and drove them from the country.

"Encouraged by success and strengthened by discipline," they now resolved on a renewal of hostilities against their old enemies and conquerors of the north, who had continued, from time to time, to annoy them by irruptions into their neighborhood.

The result was, the Adirondacks were repulsed in turn, and driven back even as low on the St. Lawrence as the settlements of the French. Assisted and encouraged by the French, who seem to have been somewhat alarmed for their own safety, they rallied again, but the issue was their nigh extermination.

\*Supposed to be the same nation, known afterwards as the Shawnees.

With the fall of the Adirondacks commenced the victorious career of these Romans of the New World, called by the French the Iroquois.\* Directing their course, again, westward, they exterminated the Erigas or Eries, living on the south side of Lake Erie. The Ottowas and Hurons fled before them; and the numerous Illinois were conquered. The remaining Satanas, or Shawanans, were come up with and nearly destroyed.† The Nipercenians of the St. Lawrence, fled to the Aritibes on Hudson's Bay, and the Delawares and Susquehannas escaped not their fury. "The Mohawk was a name of terror to the farthest tribes of New England; and though but one of that formidable people should appear, for a moment, on the hills of Connecticut or Massachusetts, the villages below would be in an uproar of confusion and fear."

They likewise failed not to carry their conquests far towards the south; and the Cherokees and Catawbas, long afterwards, held them at dislike.

By this decisive victory over all the tribes of the West, as well as over many far to the North and East, the Five Nations laid supreme claim to the country. And on returning from one of the most triumphant campaigns, preserved in Indian tradition, it is probable, many portions of their tribes remained on the Ohio and its tributaries, who with their descendants, and the adop-

\* "Le nom d'Iroquois est purement François, et a été formé du terme *Hiro*, qui signifie, *J'ai dit*; et par quel ces sauvages finissent tous leurs discours, comme les Latins faisaient autrefois par leur *Dixi*; et de *Koue*, qui est un cri, tantôt de tristesse lorsqu'on le prononce et trainant, et tantôt de joie, quand on le prononce plus court. Leur nom propre est *Agonnassionni*, qui veut dire *Faiseurs de Cabanes*, parce qu'ils les bâtiennent beaucoup plus solides, que la plupart des autres sauvages." *Charlevoix*, i.270.

† 1653, the date mentioned by Charlevoix.

ted remnants of broken tribes, afterwards, composed the Massawomee confederacy.

As the settlements from the east began to approach the mountains in Virginia and Maryland, the tribes occupying the vallies of the mountains, gradually retired into the region of the Ohio; and soon dispersing to a great extent, many are supposed to have joined themselves with the Five Nations; while others retiring towards the north-west, perhaps formed themselves into distinct tribes, or added their numbers to those resident there.

Of this portion of the history of this association of tribes, it is strange that so little should be known. They seem to have become dispersed in a few years after they became known as an united people: and whether a greater quietude began to reign, generally, among the Aborigines of the country, and that reliance on united strength, so important to individual protection, no longer necessary in consequence, was the cause of their dispersion or not, is left for conjecture.

Before the Massawomees disappeared as a conjunctive people, they for several years had been the dread of the Powhatans, the Marmahoacs, the Monacons and other tribes east of the Mountains in Virginia and Maryland.

Collecting their warriors in formidable forces, they not unfrequently crossed the mountains and descended upon the unsuspecting inhabitants, spreading terror and consternation wherever they appeared.

A few of their villages still remained within the present limits of Western Virginia, at the time the country began to be visited by traders from the east of the mountains. And at the time permanent settlements of the country, were commenced by the whites, the few who still lingered became known as the Mingos.

In 1724, the Lenni-Lenape or Delawares, leaving their residence on the waters of the Susquehanna and Juniata—to which they had retired on commencement of European settlements on the Delaware river—began to retrace their footsteps towards their original home in the West, where they have been tending, gradually, since.

Discontent from the proximity of the colonial settlements, and the consequent scarcity of game, had been the occasion of their removal. The genial valley of the Ohio, unblemished by the white man's touch, had presented itself to their minds as a happy region where the Indian might roam undisturbed.

So few scattered inhabitants remaining in this beautiful region of country, had caused many portions of it to become the common hunting grounds of different nations, as well as its plains often the theatre of many a bloody contest between contending parties, on expeditions against each other.

Claimed by the Iroquois, whose name alone was terror to the most distant nations known, an occupancy of the country was not ventured on, by any others, who did not become tributary to the sovereign possessors. And by what assurance the Delawares, and their followers, now migrated, as hostilities had likewise existed between them and the Iroquois, may for a moment seem inexplicable. It perhaps was attributable to provisions made in former treaties, for certain portions of the territory; or in consequence of the lands falling into disoccupancy and being neglected by their powerful owners.

The Delawares arriving in the West, settled principally on the upper branches of the Ohio and along the shores of that stream as low down as the Muskingum. The Wolf tribe, or Munsies, located themselves on the Allegheny, and probably founded the celebrated Kittanning

villages, on the banks of that stream, which were afterwards destroyed by Col. Armstrong, in 1756.

Four years after the migration of the Delawares, the Shawnees, from the same vicinage, began to follow gradually. Many of their families however lingered till as late as 1750,\* and some indeed, living high on the branches of the Juniata, remained till a much later period.

The history of this friendly and simple hearted people must ever awaken in us a sense of sympathy, as of interest. A wandering race, they originally had their homes in the valley of the Cumberland, from whence they migrated to South Carolina; and afterwards, about 1798, removed to the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania, where they settled by permission of that government, and from whence they now came to kindle their fires, for a time, on the Ohio.

They settled principally about the Scioto and along the Ohio, as high up as the Muskingum, where they continued to reside in comparative security, till the approach of the settlements of the whites; when with other neighboring nations, they retired beyond the Missouri.

On the arrival of the Shawnees and Delawares on the Ohio, they were met by the Canadian traders; which strange as may appear, is the earliest account on record, of the French visiting this portion of the Ohio valley, though we have every reason to suppose that they had traversed it in every direction, at a much earlier date.

These rangers of the forests, so eager and adventurous were they, they knew the location of every tribe, and no change of their abode could be made, but they soon

\*Hazard's Register, vol. 5, p. 115.

seemed apprised of it. Their traffic with the numerous nations from the St. Lawrence to the uppermost Lakes, almost from the moment they had become established in the north, had been a source of vast profit to them. The footsteps of their missionaries had been closely pursued, and availing themselves of the conciliation and friendship that had been effected with the natives, by their daring precursors, they pursued their business with vigilance, and their industry yielded abundant profit to the nation.

It was about this time that Joncaire, the "adopted citizen and son of the Seneca nation," appeared among the Delawares and Shawnees. A Frenchman by birth, but long a resident among the Indians by choice, in him was found, added to the polish and address of his countrymen, "the fluent eloquence of the Iroquois warrior."

For many years he had been employed by the French on missions among the Indians; and afterwards, when a fort was erected at Niagara, he was engaged as the principal agent.

This fort was erected in 1726, and had for its purpose a double object—the exclusion of the English from the fur-trade on the upper lakes, which they had begun to reach through the channel of the Hudson, and the cultivation of peace with the hostile Iroquois.

This formidable confederacy had long been the dread of the French, against whom an almost unremitting warfare had hitherto been kept up. The dangerous and indomitable character of these tribes had been but too dearly discovered by the French, and they now seemed determined on a new line of policy to secure an influence over them, which they had long desired, though found impracticable to effect by the means they had used. The cultivation of their friendship, it was

thought, might secure the end in view. Joncaire, from his popularity among them, was therefore found a most desirable person, as an umpire and agent.

His services being secured at the fort, he was despatched on all necessary occasions to the Iroquois; and through his instrumentality and the friendly tone assumed, strange as may appear, in a short time was gained more permanent influence over these intractable tribes, than had been accomplished by years of determined hostilities.

Encouraged, as would seem, by the success of their new scheme, and with an ulterior object in view—the establishment of their possessions on the Ohio, to the exclusion of the British Colonial settlements, approaching that region—the French now evinced a design of opening a friendly intercourse with all the tribes occupying the territory, which they thus had an eye of possession on.

To put into execution this purpose, so soon as they heard of the arrival of the Delawares and Shawnees on the Ohio, Joncaire was sent on a treaty of friendship; with instructions to win them, if possible, into the closest amicable relations; by which they expected, not only to estrange them from the English, but probably awaken them to a determination to prohibit aggression of that power farther west than the confines of the mountains.

Than the “wily emissary,” none were better calculated to execute a mission of the kind. A dweller in the wigwams of the savages for years, and long their companion in the chase, no trait, perhaps, of their peculiar character had escaped his scrutiny, or been unsounded by his cunning. Thus accomplished in the requisites befitting his errand, it may be supposed his mission would prove any other than of abortive character.

The forests ever his home, and no companion more pleasing than the Indian, on reaching the Ohio, without concern, he seemed to take up his abode with the newly arrived nations, and was one of their number in the chase, the dance or the song, for more than two years; when he again appeared at the fort at Niagara, accompanied by the principal chiefs of the two nations, on their way to visit the Governor of Canada, at Montreal.

So adroit, it would seem, had he been in initiating himself into their acquaintance and good feeling, that he now had the entire two nations under the control and even at the command of his countrymen. During a little more than two years residence with them, he had successfully won popularity with their warriors and their hunters, and influence with their chiefs, whom now as an evidence of his success, he brought to confirm the friendly treaties which he had so artfully negotiated.

The following year gave full confirmation of the sincerity of the friendship that was professed as established. An intercourse with them was not only opened, but the warriors of the Delawares and Shawnees declared themselves under the protection, and ready to defend the banner of the French King; and actuated by the whim of the moment, the colors of the nation were unfurled for a time from their wigwams.\*

The English colonies learning these proceedings, were awakened anew to a sense of the "dangerous encroachments" of the French, as they termed them; for the subject of territorial limits between the two nations had been agitated at several times previous. In 1719, the attention of the lords of trade had been earnestly solicited to the question by the Governor of the prov-

\* Bancroft.

ince of Pennsylvania; who for the security of their claims, had suggested the establishment of a fort on Lake Erie. And now, when the designs of the French were too evident to be mistaken, redoubled anxiety prevailed.

From this period the contest between the two nations grew warm, and but a few years more will be found to have elapsed till the territory for which they contended, had become the theatre of memorable and startling conflicts between them.

## CHAPTER III.

Frontier settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania—View of the rise and progress of the French colonies in the north, west and south—Region west of the Blue Ridge in Virginia, explored—One of the explorers a captive in the west and south—his return—Lewis' settlement west of the Blue Ridge—Burden's settlement—English traders on the Ohio—Treaty with the Delaware Indians at Lancaster—Boundary question.

About this period, (1730,) when the question of territorial limits between the two nations was much agitated, we find that the settlements of the British colonies had not yet reached the Blue Ridge in Virginia. The great passes of the mountains, it would seem, indeed, had not been examined, or their fertile vallies known.

In Pennsylvania, the settlements had not progressed so far, comparatively; and whether the region of the Ohio had been but little more than reached by adventurers from either colony, is doubtful. The vague knowledge possessed by the English of the western country, may have been principally derived from the French; notwithstanding their positive assertions to the contrary, while the right of possession to the country by early discovery, was under discussion; when it was even declared by the English, that some of their explorations preceded in date the discovery of the Mississippi by the French.\*

A comparative view of the rise and progress of the colonies of the two nations, and the genius and pursuit of their respective inhabitants, will aid in forming a conclusion, as regards the question of early discovery.

\* Pitkin's Hist. United States, vol. 1.

The English colonists devoting their attention, almost exclusively, to agriculture, inclined less to a roaming life, and consequently seldom wandered through the forests to any considerable distance from their settlements. A spirit of a precisely opposite character was evinced by the French; while the portion of country in which they became established afforded opportunities for the gratification of their inclinations. Placed at the entrance of an unexplored in-land navigation of thousands of miles; and ever delighted with the *voyageur's* life, they ventured far, in their slender skiffs, on the bosom of the pellucid lakes; and whether with the objects of the christianizer or the trader in view, the simple pursuit of either tended greatly to push discoveries in every direction through the interior. A half century, as we have seen, had not yet elapsed after their migration to the St. Lawrence, till they had trodden the shores of the uppermost lakes; and in a few years more, lured on in the zeal of their adventurous journeys, they had reached the great sun-set river of Indian legend, and descended on its boundless bosom to a southern sea. Before the seventeenth century had yet closed, their settlements might be said to have been strown, by way of the lakes and the Mississippi, across the entire continent. And though weak, unprotected and often demolished by the hostile natives, they early reared almost impregnable strongholds at every important point. In 1701 a fort had been erected at the upper end of Lake Erie, on the present site of Detroit; and only sixteen years afterwards was founded in the south, the city of New Orleans. In 1720, the formidable fortress of Fort Chartres, was reared on the banks of the Mississippi, in Illinois, at the enormous cost of nine million livres; and several other intermediate forts, which, at this early pe-

riod, completed an entire chain of "military posts" from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico. Such was the great progress which this enterprising nation had already made in the permanent settlement of the Mississippi country, before even the sparse population of the distant English colonies had acquired more than a vague knowledge of the territory which they began to contend so warmly for. And although the establishment of the two nations on the continent had been nearly simultaneous, we discover that no comparison is borne between them in their advancement towards the Ohio region, as respects either explorations or settlement. The tardy progress of the English settlements, in every direction from the disputed territory, had been remarkable. Whether the barrier presented by the first ranges of the Appalachians, which they had now reached, may have impeded them, is more than probable; but the period was arriving when they were to progress more rapidly.

Shortly after the date spoken of in the commencement of this chapter, a circumstance occurred which resulted in furnishing considerable information respecting the great wilderness of the west, as it was called, and in giving new impulse to the settlements in Virginia. As but little was known of the country farther west than the eastern acclivities of the Appalachians,\* two adventurers, John Salling and Thomas Morlen, determined on penetrating the mountains, to explore their vallies and the country farther west.

They set out from the neighborhood of Williamsburg, and had proceeded as far as the head-springs of the Roanoke, when a party of Cherokee Indians came suddenly upon them and took Salling captive. Mor-

\* Apalachie instead of Allegheny, was the usual name for these mountains at this period.

len made his escape and returned to the settlements. But Salling, to whom no opportunity offered for elopement, was carried by the depredators into Tennessee. Here, in the solitude of the wilderness, he remained several years; and becoming a favorite, by adapting himself to the customs and manners of the savages, was received as a member into the tribe.

The plains of Kentucky at this time, and indeed for a long period prior, had been the common resort of hunting parties from the different nations. On one of the excursions of the Cherokees thither, Salling accompanied them. Their party was surprised and defeated by another of the Illinois, into the hands of whom Salling fell, and was borne into the neighborhood of Kaskaskia.

With these new captors he made many long excursions, in one of which they wandered as far as the Gulf of Mexico, where they were met by a party of Spanish discoverers, to whom Salling was sold as an interpreter, "for three strans of beads and a calumet." After passing into different hands several times as an article of merchandise, he was eventually brought back to the Illinois region, and from thence conveyed to Canada; where he was redeemed by the Governor, and finally sent to the Dutch settlements on the Hudson; from which place after six years wandering he returned to his home in Virginia.

The accounts given by Salling of the great country beyond the mountains were listened to with curiosity bordering on amazement. The luxuriant forests, the fertile lands, and the crystal streams, and above all, the abundance of game, were represented in glowing colors and fascinating language. He had traversed regions to a degree unknown, and his tales were listened to with

an incredible interest. At this time numbers of emigrants were arriving in Virginia, from Europe; and the Scotchman, Irishman and Englishman, were alike captivated with the tales of the traveler. Among those lately arrived, who were particularly pleased with the romantic accounts of Salling, and the glowing description which he gave of the great valley immediately west of the Blue Ridge, were John Lewis and John Mackey.

The entranced listeners proposed to the veteran traveler to guide them into the land he so flatteringly described. They entered the passes of the mountains, and wandered far through the shadowy dells; and enamored with the beauty and seeming fertility of the country, the adventurers determined to rear their cabins beneath the shades of its luxuriant forests. No Indians were discovered here to disturb them, and none visited it but occasional hunting parties from further west, or others on expeditions to trade with the frontiers.

Lewis commenced his settlement on a branch of James' River, which is still known by his name. Mackey reared his home at the junction of the Shenandoah. And Salling, alike unwilling to abandon the beautiful region, built his cabin in the forks of James' River, where, we are informed, his descendants still reside.

Thus were the first settlements west of the Blue Ridge in Virginia begun. This great mountain-barrier thus passed by a few hardy adventurers, confidence was given to others to join them, and the venerable valley forests were soon loud with the echoing sounds of busy settlement.

“In 1736 Benjamin Burden arrived from England, as agent for Lord Fairfax, and was induced to visit Lewis' settlement beyond the Blue Ridge. While hunting with the sons of Lewis, Burden captured a buffalo calf,

tamed it, and took it with him to Williamsburg, and presented it to William Gooch, then governor of Virginia. It was a present well compensated. Burden received a grant of 500,000 acres of land, on the waters of Shenandoah.

"This grant was productive of abiding and important consequences on the settlements of interior Virginia, and indeed on the general history of western colonization. It is thus spoken of by Withers: 'The conditions of this grant were, that he should not interfere with any previous grant, that he should settle one hundred families in ten years, within its limits.'

"In order to comply with these conditions, Burden returned to England in 1737, and brought over upwards of one hundred families. Among these were the persons of some of the most respectable families afterwards in the Union."\*

From this period we date the permanent progress of settlements this side of the Blue Ridge. Scattering adventurers, annually coming over, still increased their numbers.

In Pennsylvania the settlements in the valleys of the mountains, had not progressed so far as those of Virginia.

Winchester, in Virginia, is said to be the oldest town north-west from the Susquehanna. It was supposed to be the site of an old Indian village; and in 1730 was occupied as a trading post between the whites and Indians.

Several years had still to elapse after the settlements just spoken of were made, before the main spine of the mountains was passed. The beautiful valley of the west, unrolling itself away from the base of the Apa-

\*Wm. Darby.

lachian mountains, was still to slumber in the quietude that had reigned over it for centuries, yet for a time, before its echoes should be awakened by the sound of the sturdy settler's axe. But its forests soon began to be penetrated by adventurers from the vallies of the mountains; and the Indian towns along the branches of the Ohio, be sought for the purpose of holding traffic. However, from the best accounts, no permanent settlements can be said to have been made on the sun-set side of the mountains until about 1749; during which period many incidents must have occurred, which would be interesting, did not the lapse of years entirely bury them from our grasp. It was during this interim, that was made a struggle between the two rival powers, the English and French, for superior influence with the tribes that occupied the disputed region. Then, perhaps, might have been seen, at the same time, arriving in the same Indian village, traders from either of the rival nations, respectively commissioned to win favor with the tawny natives; while an attentive ear and promises of friendship were the more abundantly granted the one who was most lavish of presents, sent by the government he represented. The savages, ever wavering, leaned to those who were most liberal, and won by the glitter of a trinket, their powerful alliance was secured, till again seduced by the offer of a more brilliant article.

In 1744, a treaty was held by the Delaware Indians, at Lancaster, when they ceded to Great Britain the country of Western Virginia. This cession of lands was looked upon by the colonies as a permanent step towards the establishment of their claims to the disputed territory. Nevertheless, the French strenuously held out for their right to the country, by prior discov-

ery. And why it so happens that they had lost the friendship of the Delawares, which had been so carefully cultivated, seems strange. By some means, it finally appears, that the English had got the better of them, and begun to base their claims on purchase.

The dispute between the two nations, however, abated nothing, but bid fair for ripening into a war.

At the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle, October 7th, 1748, it had been hoped that this important question would be settled. But the difficulties of the two nations being dismissed on the principle of the *Status ante bellum*, the territorial limits to the possessions of either, remained undefined.

The English settlements originally commencing on the Atlantic coast, and the charters granted by the crown, extending in a westerly direction, while those of the French beginning in the north and progressing in a southern direction, leaves it obvious that in time they would intersect. But at a distance to the west—along the banks of the Mississippi—the French had early planted themselves; and their possessions in the south, afterwards obtained, had been connected with those in the north, by this medium and the upper lakes. Therefore, even at a period before the central region of the Ohio had become warmly contested, might have been applied, what has since been aptly said—that their settlements formed a bow, of which the English colonies constituted the string.

As early as 1728, already mentioned, the English had penetrated through the province of New York and built a fort at Oswego. This had been done to reach the fur-trade of the upper lakes, much to the dissatisfaction of the French. But western New York being occupied by the powerful Iroquois, ever

friendly to the English, but the sworn enemies of the French since their arrival in the north, the position at Oswego had thereby been maintained; and the limits of the French prescribed in that region. And possibly on that account alone, may the upper region of the Ohio have been delayed in its occupancy by the French.

But now, since the French had already established themselves on the upper end of Lake Erie, and even along the Wabash,—to which we neglected to refer heretofore—the sources of the Ohio might almost be considered within the limits of their jurisdiction. And as nothing had been done at the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle, to weaken their claims, but on the other hand, a determination manifested to maintain their rights, at the cost of another breach of peace, the spirit now evinced was not to be mistaken. Nor did the disparity of their strength compared with that of the English, intimidate them. In 1750 the white population of the British colonies was estimated at one million, while that of the French was reckoned at only fifty-two thousand—apportioning forty-five thousand to Canada, and seven thousand to Louisiana. Nevertheless it was supposed by the French, that advantages were possessed by them, which would enable them to cope with their adversaries.

“The whole power of France, in America, was united under one governor, who could give it such direction as his judgment should dictate. The genius of the people and the government was military, and the inhabitants could readily be called into the field, when their services should be required. Great reliance, too, was placed on the Indians. These savages, with the exception of the Five Nations, were generally attached to the French, they were well trained in war, and the importance of their aid had already been experienced.

“The British Colonies, on the other hand, were divided into distinct governments, unaccustomed, except those of New England, to act in concert; were jealous of the powers of the Crown; and were spread over a large extent of territory, the soil of which, in all the middle colonies, was cultivated by men whose peace of late years had seldom been disturbed, and who were consequently, almost entirely unused to arms.”\*

\* Marshall.

## CHAPTER IV.

French army destined for the Ohio—Alarm in the English colonies—Send a spy into Ohio—Three letters brought by traders from the Ohio—French forces in the Ohio—A leaden plate stolen from the French by the Indians and brought to Fort George—Six Nations call upon the English for aid to expel the French—Ohio Land Company—Gist sent to explore the Ohio—Hostilities in the Ohio region—Twightees—Indian council at Carlisle.

In the summer of 1749, intelligence reached the province of Pennsylvania, that an army of about one thousand French were in readiness to leave Canada, on some expedition; and that it was whispered their destination was the Ohio, to exclude the English from settling in the country, and drive their traders without the territory, as well as chastise such Indian tribes as gave encouragement to their coming among them. Startled with these rumors, the Assembly immediately, by advice of the governor, passed a resolution to send a suitable person over the mountains to watch their movements. Accordingly, a Mr. George Croghan was appointed to the expedition, and instructed to proceed without delay to the Ohio, and on his arrival there, to send trusty persons, traders or Indians, up the Allegheny and across the country to Erie, “to discover whether any French were in those parts, and if any, in what numbers, and what appearance they made;” that appropriate measures might be taken to thwart them in their designs.

Croghan, some time after reaching Logstown, an Indian village on the Ohio, about twenty miles below the mouth of the Monongahela river, wrote that he had learned from the Indians there, that they had seen Jean

Cœur, a French officer, one hundred and fifty miles up the river, at a place where he intended to erect a fort. It is probable that this was at the mouth of French Creek, then called Le Bœuf river, where, as is known, was afterwards built a fort.

The next accounts we have, are the reception by the Governor of Pennsylvania, of "three several letters of an extraordinary nature, in French, signed "*Celeron*," delivered to him by traders who came from the Ohio ; and who informed him, at the same time, that this "Captain Celeron was a French officer, and had the command of three hundred French and some Indians, sent from Canada during the summer to Ohio and the Wabash, to reprove the Indians for their friendship to the English, and for suffering the English to trade with them."

The letters being alike, the Governor sent one to the proprietaries in London, another to the Governor of New York, that the same might be laid before the ministry. As a perusal of the letter may be interesting to some, we insert a

#### TRANSLATION.

"From our camp on the Beautiful River (Ohio), at an ancient village of the Chouanons, 6th August, 1749.

"Sir,—Having been sent with a detachment into these quarters by M——, the Marquis de la Gallissinere, commandant-general of New France, to reconcile among themselves certain savage nations, who are ever at variance, on account of the war just terminated, I have been much surprised to find some traders of your government, in a country to which England never had any pretensions. It even appears that the same opinion is entertained in New England, since in many of the villages, which I have passed through, the English, who were trading there, have mostly taken flight.

"Those I have first fallen in with, and by whom I wrote to you, were treated with all the mildness possible, although I would have been justified in treating them as interlopers, and men without design, their enterprise being contrary to the preliminaries of peace signed five months ago.

I hope, sir, you will carefully prohibit, for the future, this trade, which is contrary to treaties; and give notice to your traders, that they will expose themselves to great risks, in returning to these countries; and they must impute only to themselves the misfortunes they may meet with. I know that our commandant-general would be very sorry to have recourse to violence, but he has orders not to permit foreign traders in his government.—I have the honor to be, with great respect,

“Sir, your humble and servant,  
“CELERON.”

Where the “ancient village of the Chouanons” may have been we are uninformed. No mention is made of it elsewhere, that has come under our observation. Whatsoever may have been the proper claims of the two nations to the country in dispute, this letter but confirms the impression all must have, who will carefully and impartially examine the subject of their dispute. As far as prior discovery gave right to the country, it must be granted the claims of the French were undeniably; however ingenious and notoriously falsified may have been the statements of the English, to deprive them of this ground to rest their claims upon, as also of historians of our own country of a later day.\* The French, if they did not fortify their claims on purchases from the Indians, like the English, it still must be admitted, as it even was by many of the English at the time, that their rights were pre-eminent, from the fact they were the first discoverers, and in them, at least, reposed the power to negotiate first with the natives for their lands.

Upon the whole, the letter of Celeron evinces the same determined spirit to resist all encroachments of their adversaries, of whatsoever character, doubtless foreseeing it would be the only method to insure themselves an indisputable possession of the country. The

\* Pitkins.

Indians once removed from instigation of the English, through traders and "interlopers," those tribes that might not be won by favor, might be awed into subjection.

It appears that, on the arrival of the French forces within the precincts of the region, they were divided into two parties; one under the command of Jean Cœur, to descend the head springs of the Allegheny, with a double purpose in view; first, to frown or win the natives into adherence with French influence; and, secondly, to look out the most eligible positions for the establishment of forts,—the most important expedient for planting the flag of the nation in the country.

The other party, under the command of Celeron, was to operate in the central and lower part of the territory, with like objects in view.

About this time was stolen a curious leaden plate from Jean Cœur, by the Indians, and brought by them to Gov. Clinton at Fort George.

#### INSCRIPTION ON THE PLATE.

"LAN. 1760, DV. REGNE DE LOUIS XV ROY DE  
FRANCE NOVS CELERON COMMANDANT DVN  
DETACHMENT ENVOIE PAR MONSIEUR LE M'IS  
DE LA GALISSONIERE COMMANDANT GENERAL DE  
LA FRANCE NOUVELLE POVE RETABLIR LA  
TEANQUILLITE DANS QVELQOS VILLAGES SAUVAGES  
DE CES CANTONS AVONS ENTERRE CE PLAQUE  
AU CONFLVENT DE'L OHYO ET DE TCPADAKOJNCE 29 JUILLET  
PRES DE LA RIVIERE OYO AUTREMENT BELLE  
REVIERE POUR MONUMENT DE RENOUVELLEMENT DE  
POSSESSION QUE NOUS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE  
RIVIERE OYO ET DE TOUTES CELLES QUI Y  
TOMBENT ET DE TOUTES LES TERRES DES DEUX  
COTES JUSQUE AUX SOURCES DES DITTES RIVIERES  
AINSII QVE'N ONT JOVY OV DV JOVIR LACS  
PRECEDENTS ROIS DE FRANCE ET QUIELS SY  
SONT MAINTENUS PAR LES ARMES ET PAR LES  
TRATTIES SPECIALMENT PAR CEVX DE RISWICK  
D'VTRECHT ET DE AIX-LA-CHAPELLE."

A copy of the inscription was sent by Gov. Clinton to

the Assembly of Pennsylvania, with the following note:

“Jan. 29, 1750.

“I send you a copy of an inscription on a leaden plate, stolen from Jean Cœur, in the Senecas country, as he was going to the Ohio.”\*

It seems the object was to bury this plate somewhere on the Ohio—if not already deposited when stolen.

During the next spring, application was made by the Six Nations—the Tuscaroras formed the sixth, of which we shall speak again—to know what assistance would be rendered them in the event of a war with the French; who, they said, were making active preparations for hostilities against them, to be commenced in the approaching summer, on account of their adherence to the English.

They were encouraged by promised aid, and their friendship re-secured by liberal presents.

But whether this application was a feint to obtain presents or not, it would seem very much like it was, for during the summer we find no manifestation of the French in that way, but every thing quite the reverse. However, policy of the aggressors, long their characteristic, may have again dictated it. For it seems, during the season of expected warfare, the French busied themselves successfully distributing presents, the most costly, among these tribes, and by sending many of their priests and missionaries among them to secure their influence, by making converts.

A person coming from Onondago, about this time, where many of the Six Nations inhabited, gave information, that about “one hundred converts, men, women and children,” were already gained, who were all clothed in the richest apparel, decorated with silver and gold; and the informant alleged, that the English interest among them could be of no consideration any longer.

\* Abstract of Records at Harrisburgh.

Upon reception of this news, large amounts of presents were again sent to the Indians.

But withal, as respected the Six Nations, it had been too correctly apprehended; their influence was considered lost; except that portion of them which resided on the Ohio, who had ever been the enemies of the French, and still remained steadfast in their dislike towards them. They were anxious that they should be repulsed in their endeavors to enter the country, and accordingly encouraged the English to come among them, and even advised the erection of forts, to debar their enemies.

About this time, 1750, was formed the "Ohio Land Company;" an association of several influential persons in Virginia and England, to whom the crown had given a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land, to be located on the Ohio river. The objects of this company were commercial as well as territorial. It was designed they should build trading houses, and open a traffic with the Indians, so soon as the land was located. But no knowledge, in any way definite, was had of the country. The vague accounts received from wandering traders was all that was had as yet. It therefore was thought expedient to send some person into the country to explore it, and ascertain where the grant might be most advantageously located. A person by the name of Christopher Gist, afterwards a prominent settler in the country, was engaged for this purpose. Proceeding on his journey from Virginia to the Juniata, he ascended that river to its sources; and continuing in a westerly direction till he struck the head waters of the Kiskeminetas, he descended this stream to the Allegheny. Whether or not the route by the Potomac and Youghegheny was known at that time, no mention is made. But contrary

to the opinion of some, it may be, as a matter of course, it was. The country west of the mountains, in almost all directions, had been traversed by traders, and of a consequence the Monongahela had been known. Gist continuing down the Allegheny, crossed about four miles above the mouth of the Monongahela, and probably passed down to the north of Hogback hill, as he seems not to have noticed that stream; no mention of it being made, as is asserted,\* in his journal. He continued his journey on the north side of the Ohio, as low as the Falls; and in November of the next year, explored the country on the south side of the river, as low as the Kenhawa.

But in the spring of this same year, 1751, many of the active movements of the French must not be lost sight of. During the prior autumn, two traders from the province of Pennsylvania had been taken prisoners by some Indians, and carried to the French at Detroit. After being detained some time, these traders made their escape, and on their return reported, that many Indians, about Detroit, were in the employ of the French, to capture all the English traders they met with in the country of the Ohio; and that the French were making preparations to proceed the ensuing spring, to destroy some tribes on the Ohio, steadfast in the interests of the English.

When the spring arrived, we find that the French were active to the full letter of their purposes. This was the period seemingly determined upon by that enterprising nation, to throw their power into the very heart of the disputed territory.

About this time, three hundred French were seen

\* Neville B. Craig.

passing up the lakes at Oswego, and it was understood their object was to cut off some western Indians that were in alliance with the English.

The next accounts, are, their building a three-masted vessel on Lake Erie, and erecting a more permanent fort at Niagara.

When this information reached New York, Gov. Clinton wrote to the governor-general of Canada, June 12th, 1751, remonstrating against their proceedings, and demanding the release of six English traders, who, it appears, had been lately captured on the Ohio. Whereupon the governor-general, in reply, sustains the course pursued, from the justness of their claims to the country in which the traders were taken, and refers to the timely warning given by the letters of *Celeron*.

Shortly afterwards Gov. Hamilton, of the province of Pennsylvania, received the following letter from *Jonquiere*, a French commandant, dated

“Skenango (Venango), June 6, 1751.\*

“SIR, MONSR.—The Marquis de la Jonquiere, Governor of the whole of New France, having honored me with his orders, to watch that the English should make no treaty in the continent of Belle Riviere, I have directed the traders of the Governor to withdraw. You are not ignorant, Sir, that all the lands of this continent have always belonged to the King of France, and that the English have no right to come there to trade. My general has ordered me to apprise you of what I have done, in order that you may not pretend ignorance of the reasons of it; and he has given me this order with so much the more reason, since it is now two years since Monsr. Celeron, by order of M. Gallissoniere, then Commandant-General, warned many English traders who were treating with the savages of Belle Riviere, against what they were doing, and they promised him not to return again to treat on their lands, as M. de Celeron wrote to you, lest any thing might happen.”

No fort as yet had been erected at this place, but it was occupied as a military position. The fort at Le

\* Hazard, vol. iv.

Bœuf, on the head-waters of French creek, we know to have been erected this season, 1751; and the one on Erie, Presq' Isle, from the best accounts, was built the summer before.

The next year, when the Ohio Land Company were making preparations to lay off their lands, it appears some difficulty occurred with the Indians in respect to their right to do so. The grant to the company had been given in conformity with the treaty of Lancaster in 1744, when the purchase of Western Virginia, from the Indians, was said to have been made. To obviate the difficulty, and facilitate the future movements of the company, a treaty with the Indians was proposed. Col. Fry and two others on the part of Virginia, and Gist for the company, were commissioned for that purpose. In the council, which was held at Logstown, it was declared by one of the old chiefs, "that the treaty at Lancaster did not cede any lands west of the first hills on the east side of the Allegheny mountains. They agreed, however, not to molest any settlements that might be made on the south side of the Ohio."\* Gist was soon afterwards appointed by the company to survey the lands, but what progress he made, we have no accounts. He was instructed to lay off a town and fort at the mouth of Chartiers' creek; but it is presumed it was not done, as Shingis, King of the Delawares, was residing at that place in the autumn of 1753, and no survey was yet made, as is stated by Washington, in his journal, to Le Bœuf, at that time.

The Governor of Canada early learning these proceedings of the company, though the surveys were being made as secretly as possible, wrote to the Gover-

\* Neville B. Craig.

nors of New York and Pennsylvania, complaining of the intrusion. And supposing, with correctness, that the company had in view the establishment of a traffic with the Indians, through a communication by way of the Potomac and Will's creek, made this the principal ground of complaint; and added, that if they did not desist, he should be under the necessity of seizing their traders wherever found.

No notice, however, was given to these threats; and traders rather encouraged by the movements of the Land Company, began to return, as fearless as ever, to the Ohio. But the result, as may be expected, was, that many of them were taken and carried to Presq' Isle, and retained in close custody.

As a retaliation for this, the Twightees, who had ever been the warm friends of the English, seized three French traders, and sent them over the mountains, prisoners, to the Governor of Pennsylvania. But this was a dear proceeding to them. Two Frenchmen, at the head of two hundred and forty Indians, came to the town of the Twightees, somewhere on the Allegheny, June 21st, 1752, with a show of friendship; but at a signal given, fell suddenly upon the people, and killed fourteen Indians and one English trader, and took many prisoners.\* The party attacking, stated they had been authorised by the Governor of Canada to kill all Indians they discovered to be in amity with the English, and to seize the person and effects of all English traders. The Twightees, in their message afterwards to the Governor of Pennsylvania, complaining of the cruelty shown them on this occasion, said, that their king, Piankashaw, had been taken prisoner, and afterwards killed and eaten.

\* Hazard's Register.

For some time the Governor of Canada, foreseeing the result of affairs, had been making preparations to take and retain forcible possession of the country. A line of forts were already established from Niagara to French creek, on the Allegheny. A continuation of it down the Ohio was in contemplation.

Their possessions in the south, for some time, had been connected with those on the Lakes, by two chain of forts: one down the Illinois river, and the other through the Miami of the Lakes, and down the Wabash; with scattering settlements from point to point. Nothing now remained to be done to ensure them the possession of the entire valley of the west, but a firm hold along the Ohio.

The Indians marking the approach of the French in armed forces, had been early alarmed for the consequence. On their first hearing of their erection of a fort at Niagara, a council of the different tribes was convened at Logstown; and a messenger sent to warn them from further encroachment. And when they had entered the limits of the Ohio country another messenger was sent. But a haughty answer being returned without any explanation of their objects, Tanacharison, Half-King of the Mingos, was finally sent with a last warning, who met them at Venango, where, by instruction of his people, he delivered the following speech:

“Fathers,” said he, “I am come to tell you your own speeches; what your own mouths have declared. Fathers, you, in former days, set a silver basin before us, wherein there was the leg of a beaver, and desired all the nations to come and eat of it in peace and plenty, and not to be churlish to one another; and that if any such person should be found to be a disturber, I here lay down, by the edge of the dish, a rod, which you must

scourge them with; and if your father should get foolish in my old days, I desire you may use it upon me as well as upon others.

“Now, Fathers, it is you that are the disturbers in this land, by coming and building your towns, and taking it away, unknown to us, and by force.

“Fathers, we kindled a fire a long time ago, at a place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our land. I now desire you may despatch to that place; for, be it known to you, fathers, that this is our land and not yours.

“Fathers, I desire you may hear me in civility; if not, we must handle that which was laid down for the use of the obstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable manner, like our brethren the English, we would not have been against your trading with us as they do; but to come, fathers, and build houses upon our lands, and take it by force, is what we cannot submit to.

“Fathers, both you and the English are white; we live in a country between; therefore the land belongs to neither one nor the other. But the Great Being above allowed it to be a place of residence for us; so, fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English; for I will keep you at arm's length. I lay this down, as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it; and that side we will stand by, and make equal sharers with us. Our brothers, the English, have heard this, and I come now to tell it to you; for I am not afraid to discharge you off this land.”

The Indians finding all would not do, now resolved on calling the English in aid, in attempt to discharge the French. A messenger was despatched by them to the Governor of Pennsylvania, to inform him, that the

chiefs of the different tribes opposed to the French were coming to hold a talk with him and his people. Information was returned by the messenger, that persons would be sent to meet and hold a conference with them at Carlisle. Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benj. Franklin, were appointed the deputies. They arrived at Carlisle, September 26th, 1753, where they found the chiefs of the Delawares, Shawnees, and Min-gos, with deputies from the Wyandots and Twightees.

The Indians said they had in vain forbid the French from encroaching on their lands, and they were now resolved to strike in their own defence. The moment was looked upon as favorable for firmly securing their alliance. Large presents of goods were again given them. Before the council had broken up, an Indian messenger arrived from the Ohio in haste, to inform them that a large body of French were about descending from their forts above, to "a Virginia settlement at the Forks of the Monongahela, with an intent to build a fort there."

The Indians, alarmed at the news, closed their business in the council, and made immediate preparations to return.

Considerable excitement now prevailed. Shortly afterwards, a trading house, which had been erected by the Ohio Company at Logstown, was surprised by a detachment of French, their goods and skins to the amount of twenty thousand pounds seized, and all the traders killed except two, who made their escape.

## CHAPTER V.

Rumors of the French establishing themselves in the Ohio—A Messenger sent to Ohio—Orders of the British Ministry to build two forts on the Ohio—Washington commissioned to visit the French commandant at Fort Le Bœuf—Leaves on his Journey—Reaches Frazier's on the Monongahela—Delayed at Logstown—At Venango—Arrives at Le Bœuf—Return, and incidents by the way.

Rumors reaching the colonies, that the French were rapidly establishing themselves in the country of the Ohio, and that indications were discovered of the friendly Indians about to waver in their fidelity, it was thought expedient, in order to learn the true state of affairs, to send a messenger over the mountains; and that the friendship of the natives might be retained, to send by him various presents.

This messenger proceeded as far as the Ohio river, and disposed of the presents according to instructions. From the friendly sachems he received various and vague reports, concerning the French. He was told by some who had visited the French on Le Bœuf river, that their strength was formidable, and their treatment towards English traders, hostile, as they captured and made prisoners all that they found within the country.

This report of affairs, though neither definite nor satisfactory, confirmed the colonies in their apprehensions of a rupture with the rival power.

Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, about this time, received orders from the British Ministry to build two strong forts on the Ohio, for the purpose of maintaining possession of the country, and retaining the friendship

and alliance of the Indians. Thirty pieces of light cannon and eight barrels of powder were sent out from England for the use of the forts.

Previous to putting into execution the orders of the Ministry, the Governor concluded to send a messenger, duly invested with power to confer with the commandant of the French forces, and demand "by what authority he presumed to invade the king's dominions, and what were his designs."

For this purpose Major Washington, then in the twenty-second year of his age, was commissioned. The next day after receiving the appointment, furnished with written instructions and a passport, he left for Will's creek, the extreme frontier, accompanied with a French interpreter. Meeting with Gist here, of whom we have spoken heretofore, he consented to join as a guide, being familiar with the woods, and having lately commenced a settlement immediately west of the mountains, near the head-waters of the Monongahela. Four others, at this place, likewise agreed to accompany him, two of whom were Indian traders.

Prepared with horses, tents, and baggage, they set out through the forests on the 14th of November, 1753. A dim Indian path lay before them part of the way, but their route was principally through a trackless wilderness, known only to the veteran wanderers that accompanied as pilots. Rain falling in considerable quantities, the mountains covered with snow, and the ravines flooded with the swollen streams, rendered the traveling difficult and laborious. Eight days had elapsed after the little company left the frontier, when they arrived at Frazier's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle creek, on the Monongahela, nine miles above the Ohio.

The party making a short delay at the cabin of the distant adventurer, again pursued their way. Two of the men, with the baggage in a canoe, obtained from Frazier, to transport them to the northern side of the Allegheny, descended to the mouth of the river, while the others proceeded with the horses by land. Washington arriving a few hours before the canoe, at the mouth of the Monongahela, spent the meantime in noting the eligible site presented for a fortification, which was afterwards thus occupied at his suggestion.

His object, in the first place, being to proceed to Logstown, to call in council the principal chiefs of the neighborhood; and learning that Shingis, king of the Delawares, resided at the mouth of Chartiers creek,\* on the opposite or south side of the river, two miles below, he concluded to call upon him, and invite him along. The chief accompanied, and the next evening after sunset, they arrived at Logstown.

Learning that the principal sachem, Tanacharison, or the Half-King, was absent at his hunting cabin, on Little Beaver, some fifteen miles distant, Major Washington, presenting one of the chiefs, Monocatoocha, with a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, requested him to be sent for; making known his orders were to convene in council the principal chiefs of that place, to deliver to them a speech of the governor of Virginia, and solicit an escort of their warriors to the French commandant, on the head-waters of the Allegheny. Monocatoocha immediately complied with the request, and promised to despatch a runner early in the morning.

\* This creek is said to take its name from Peter Chartier, a refugee, from the settlements east of the mountains, at the head of a party of Shawnees, attacking several traders on its banks, and robbing and murdering them.

for the Half-King, as well as others for the Shawnee and neighboring chiefs.

Late the next day, the Half-King arrived, but as the Shawnee and other chiefs had not yet come, a council was not held till a day later. The principal chiefs and sachems of the neighborhood having at length arrived, a council was convened in the "long house," when the meeting was opened by Major Washington addressing them as follows, extracted from his journal:

"Brothers, I have called you together in council, by order of your brother the governor of Virginia, to acquaint you, that I am sent with all possible dispatch, to visit, and deliver a letter to the French commandant, of very great importance to your brothers the English; and I dare say to you, their friends and allies.

"I was desired, brothers, by your brother the governor to call upon you, the sachems of the nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your advice and assistance to proceed the nearest and best road to the French. You see, brothers, I have gotten thus far on my journey.

"His honor likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young men to conduct and provide provisions for us on our way; and be a safeguard against those French Indians who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoken thus particularly to you, brothers, because his honor our governor treats you as good friends and allies, and holds you in great esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this string of wampum."

After a short consideration of what had been addressed them, the Half-King rose and spoke in reply:

"Now, my brother, in regard to what my brother the governor has desired of me, I return you this answer.

“I rely upon you as a brother ought to do, as you say we are brothers, and one people. We shall put heart in hand, and speak to our fathers, the French, concerning the speech they made to me; and you may depend that we will endeavor to be your guard.

“Brother, as you have asked my advice, I hope you will be ruled by it, and stay until I can provide a company to go with you. The French speech belt is not here, I have to go for it to my hunting cabin. Likewise, the people whom I have ordered in are not yet come, and cannot until the third night from this; until which time, brother, I must beg you to stay.

“I intend to send a guard of Mingo, Shannoahs, and Delawares, that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them.”

A delay of three days longer, on any account, was objected to by Washington, assigning that his business demanded the greatest haste; but the remonstrance was rebuked by the Half-King, in return, who appeared displeased that his proffered friendship and advice was not complied with. He remarked, that the nearest and best route, on account of the late rains, and the season of the year, was impassable, and that the only path that could be followed was the one by Venango, by which the nearest fort could not be reached short of “five or six nights’ sleep, good travelling;” and that as the journey was long and perilous, he would not consent that he should go alone, for fear something might happen, which would cast censure upon himself and his people.

Three days were spent in restless delay, but the young men abroad on the hunting excursion had not yet returned, from whom the guard was intended to be selected.

Washington, wearied and impatient with delay, at length determined to proceed on his journey. A council again being held by the chiefs, they concluded that three of them and a hunter should accompany; and that as the speech-belts had not yet arrived, they should be brought on by runners.

The wampum belt, the emblem of friendship, while retained, and now in the hands of the Mingos, Delawares, and Shawnees, it seems was resolved should be returned to the French, and all intercourse with them suspended.

The distance to the end of the journey was still above a hundred miles, over a rough portion of the country. Accompanied with the three chiefs, Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the Half-King, together with the hunter, Washington reached Venango the 4th of December, in safety, though exposed to continued inclemency of the weather.

Venango was an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French Creek, on the Allegheny. From one of the cabins was noticed the French colors unfurled; repairing to this, Washington found three officers, one of whom was Joncaire [*Jonquiere*], the same, we presume, as spoken of heretore, and author of the letter to Governor Hamilton, on a preceding page. He was the principal commandant of a few French at this place, and represented himself as having control of affairs in Ohio, but referred for a transaction of business to the general-officer, who, he informed, was stationed at Fort Le Bœuf, on the head-waters of the creek.

It being in the evening, the loquacious officer invited Major Washington to sup with him, and afterwards partake of his wine; which he indulged in freely himself; and all restraint in consequence being soon banished,

the designs of his countrymen were discussed with freedom.

“They told me,” says Washington, “that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G—d they would do it: for that, although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs.”

On account of continued rains the next day, Washington was deterred from proceeding on his journey. Joncaire learning that some chiefs were in town who had come along, immediately sent for them.

“He affected to be much concerned,” continues Washington, “that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excused it in the best manner of which I was capable, and told him, I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in dispraise of Indians in general: but another motive prevented me from bringing them into his company: I knew that he was an interpreter, and a person of very great influence among the Indians, and had lately used all possible means to draw them over to his interest, therefore, I was desirous of giving him no opportunity that could be avoided.

“When they came in, there was great pleasure expressed at seeing them. He wondered how they could be so near without coming to visit him, made several trifling presents; and applied liquor so fast, that they were soon rendered incapable of the business they came about, notwithstanding the caution which was given.”

The following day it had been determined to proceed on the journey. But the Half-King, quite sober by this time, desired Washington to remain and hear what he

had to say to the French; informing him at the same time, that a council-fire was already kindled, and it was here that their business was to be transacted, for Joncaire had the entire management of their affairs.

All attempts at persuasion, to postpone the council till they would reach the commandant-general, was ineffectual, and delay till another day inevitable. However, no business was transacted. After they had met, the Half-King made a speech, and, when through with it, wished to return the wampum to the French, as was the object, that their intercourse in future might cease. But Joncaire refused to receive it, evasively recommending a consideration of the matter with the chief commandant, at Le Bœuf. The following morning, the third day after his arrival, Washington at length set out for the destination of his journey; experiencing some difficulty in getting the Indians along, as every stratagem had been resorted to, to detain them. Five days were spent with incredible toil, and exposure to inclement weather, before they reached the fort.

“M. de St. Pierre, the commandant,” says Mr. Sparks, whose very replete account from this forward we quote, “was an elderly person, a knight of the military order of St. Louis, and courteous in his manners. At the first interview he promised immediate attention to the letter from Governor Dinwiddie, and every thing was provided for the convenience and comfort of Major Washington and his party while they remained at the fort. At the next meeting the commission and letter were produced, read, translated, and deliberately explained. The commandant counselled with his officers, and in two days an answer was returned.

The governor’s letter asserted, that the lands on the

Ohio belonged to the crown of Great Britain, expressed surprise at the encroachments of the French, demanded by whose authority an armed force had crossed the Lakes, and urged a speedy and peaceful departure. M. de St. Pierre replied in the style of a soldier, saying it did not belong to him to discuss treaties, that such a message should have been sent to the Marquis Duquesne, Governor of Canada, by whose instructions he acted, and whose orders he should be careful to obey, and that the summons to retire could not be complied with. The tone was respectful, but uncompromising and determined.

“While the French officers were holding consultations, and getting the despatch ready, Major Washington took an opportunity to look around and examine the fort. His attendants were instructed to do the same. He was thus enabled to bring away an accurate description of its form, size, construction, cannon, and barracks. His men counted the canoes in the river, and such as were partly finished. The fort was situate on a branch of French creek, about fifteen miles south of Lake Erie. A plan of it, drawn by Major Washington, was sent to the British government.

“The snow was falling so fast, that he ordered back his horses to Venango, resolved to go down himself by water, a canoe having been offered to him for that purpose. He had been entertained with great politeness; nor did the complaisance of M. de St. Pierre exhaust itself in mere forms of civility. The canoe, by his order, was plentifully stocked with provisions, liquors, and every other supply that could be wanted.

“But the same artifices were practised and expedients tried, as at Venango, to lure away the Indians, and keep them behind. Many temptations were held out,

presents given, and others promised. The Half-King was a man of consequence, whose friendship was not to be lost, if it could possibly be retained. He persisted in his reserve, however, and now offered a second time to the French commandant the speech-belt, or wampum, as indicating that the alliance between them was broken off. The latter refused to accept it, and soothed the savage with soft words and fair professions, saying it was his wish to live in amity and peace with the Indians, and to trade with them, and that he would immediately send goods to their towns. These attempts to inveigle the Half-King and his companions were discovered by Major Washington, who complained of the delay, and insinuated the cause. M. de St. Pierre was urbane, as usual, seemed ignorant of all that passed, could not tell why the Indians stayed, and declared nothing should be wanting on his part to fulfil Major Washington's desires. Finally, after much perplexity and trouble, the whole party embarked in a canoe.

“ The passage down was fatiguing, slow, and perilous. Rocks, shallows, drifting trees, and currents keep them in constant alarm. ‘ Many times,’ says Major Washington in his Journal, ‘ all hands were obliged to get out, and remain in the water half an hour or more in getting over the shoals. At one place the ice had lodged, and made it impassable by water; and we were obliged to carry our canoe across a neck of land a quarter of a mile over.’ In six days they landed at Venango, a distance of one hundred and thirty miles by the winding of the stream.

“ The horses were found here, but in so emaciated and pitiable a condition, that it was doubtful whether they could perform the journey. The baggage and provisions were all to be transported on their backs. To lighten

their burden as much as possible, Major Washington, clad in an Indian walking-dress, determined to proceed on foot, with Mr. Gist and Mr. Vanbraam, putting the horses under the direction of the drivers. After three days' travel, the horses becoming more feeble, and the cold and snow hourly increasing, this mode of journeying proved so tardy and discouraging, that another was resorted to. Mr. Vanbraam took charge of the horses, with orders to go on as fast as he could. Major Washington, with a knapsack on his back, containing his papers and food, and with a gun in his hand, left the party, accompanied only by Mr. Gist, equipped in the same manner. They turned out of the path, and directed their course through the woods so as to strike the Allegheny river, and cross it near Shanopins town, two or three miles above the Fork of the Ohio. The next day an adventure occurred, which is well narrated by Mr. Gist in a diary written by him at the time.

“ We rose early in the morning, and set out about two o'clock, and got to the Murdering town on the southeast fork of Beaver creek. Here we met with an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as, how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when they would be there. Major Washington insisted on traveling by the nearest way to the forks of the Allegheny. We asked the Indian if he could go with us, and show us the nearest way. The Indian seemed very glad, and ready to go with us; upon which we set out, and the Indian took the Major's pack. We travelled very brisk for eight or ten miles, when the Major's

feet grew very sore, and he very weary, and the Indian steered too much northeastwardly. The Major desired to encamp; upon which the Indian asked to carry his gun, but he refused; and then the Indian grew churlish, and pressed us to keep on, telling us there were Ottawa Indians in those woods, and they would scalp us, if we lay out; but to go to his cabin, and we should be safe.

“I thought very ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the Major know I mistrusted him. But he soon mistrusted him as much as I did. The Indian said he could hear a gun from his cabin, and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy, and then he said two whoops might be heard from his cabin. We went two miles further. Then the Major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water; but, before we came to water, we came to a clear meadow. It was very light, and snow was on the ground. The Indian made a stop, and turned about. The Major saw him point his gun towards us, and he fired. Said the Major, ‘Are you shot?’ ‘No,’ said I; upon which the Indian ran forward to a big standing white oak, and began loading his gun, but we were soon with him. I would have killed him, but the Major would not suffer me. We let him charge his gun. We found he put in a ball; then we took care of him. Either the Major or I always stood by the guns. We made him make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the Major, ‘As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night;’ upon which I said to the Indian, ‘I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun.’ He said he knew the way to his cabin, and it was but a little way. ‘Well,’ said I, ‘do you go home; and, as we are tired, we will follow your track in the morning, and

here is a cake of bread for you, and you must give us meat in the morning.' He was glad to get away. I followed him, and listened, until he was fairly out of the way; and then we went about half a mile, when we made a fire, set our compass, fixed our course, and traveled all night. In the morning we were on the head of Piny creek.'

"Whether it was the intention of the Indian to kill either of them can only be conjectured. The circumstances were extremely suspicious. Major Washington hints at this incident in his Journal. 'We fell in with a party of French Indians,' says he, 'who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took the fellow in custody, and kept him till nine o'clock at night; then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light.' No more was seen or heard of them. The next night, at dusk, the travelers came to the Allegheny river, a little above Shannopins, where they expected to cross over on the ice; but in this they were disappointed, the river being frozen only a few yards on each side, and a great body of broken ice driving rapidly down the current.

"Weary and exhausted they were compelled to pass the night on the bank of the river, exposed to the rigor of the weather, making their beds on the snow, with no other covering than their blankets. When the morning came, their invention was the only resource for providing the means of gaining the opposite shore.

"There was no way of getting over,' says Major

Washington, 'but on a raft; which we set about with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sunsetting. This was a whole day's work. We next got it launched, and went on board of it; then set off. But before we were half way over, we were jammed in the ice in such a manner, that we expected every moment our raft would sink, and ourselves perish. I put out my settingpole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by; when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water. But I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts we could not get the raft to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft, and make to it.'

"This providential escape from most imminent danger, was not the end of their calamities. They were thrown upon a desert island; the weather was intensely cold; Mr. Gist's hands and feet were frozen; and their sufferings through the night were extreme. A gleam of hope appeared with the dawn of morning. Between the island and the eastern bank of the river, the ice had congealed so hard as to bear their weight. They crossed over without accident, and the same day reached the residence of Mr. Frazier, near the spot where eighteen months afterwards was fought the memorable battle of the Monongahela.

"Here they rested two or three days, both to recruit themselves and to procure horses. Meantime Major Washington paid a complimentary visit to Queen Aliquippa, an Indian princess, who resided at the confluence of the Monongahela and Youhiogany rivers. She had expressed dissatisfaction, that he had neglected this mark of respect on his way out. An apology, seconded

by the more substantial token of a present, soothed her wounded dignity, and secured a gracious reception.

“Nothing was heard of Vanbraam and his party. Anxious to hasten back, and report to the governor the result of his mission, Major Washington did not wait for them. With Mr. Gist he recrossed the Alleghenies to Will’s creek, and thence proceeded with despatch to Williamsburg, where he arrived on the 16th of January, having been absent eleven weeks.”

## CHAPTER VI.

Hostilities anticipated—English proceed to erect a fort at the mouth of the Monoagahela—Repulsed by the French—Fort Du Quesne erected—March of English forces to the Ohio—Skirmish with Jumonville—Battle of the Great Meadows, and retreat east of the mountains—Hostilities of the French against neutral tribes of Indians, and others friendly to the English.

Upon Washington's return, and his reporting the state of affairs in the Ohio region, it was immediately resolved to push forward in the fulfilment of the instructions received from the Ministry. It was no longer doubted that a collision of arms would take place, and in that way alone be settled the question of dispute. The importance then of having some foot-hold within the limits of the country, by the establishment of forts, as had been foreseen by the ministry, was at once appreciated.

Orders were now issued from the Governor and council of Virginia for raising two volunteer companies, of one hundred men each; and if a failure attended the effort, the requisite forces should be obtained by drafts from the militia. Major Washington was appointed to the chief command, without a dissenting voice in the council, as the most suitable person, from his lately acquired knowledge of the country, as well as the favorable repute he bore as an officer. Captain Trent, the second in command, was sent to the frontier to raise troops, as much as possible from among the traders and hunters, who were better adapted to a campaign in the wilderness, from being inured to life of the kind.

In the meantime Washington repaired to Alexandria on the Potomac, to superintend the transportation of supplies, and the cannon designed to be mounted on the fort. Washington, while on his way to Le Bœuf, had examined the point of land at the mouth of the Monongahela, and afterwards reported it as a favorable position for a fort. Upon his suggestion, therefore, it was determined to proceed thither first, and erect a fort.

At the same time, calls were made on the other provinces for assistance in troops. The ensuing spring was determined upon for the campaign. And that the scheme might be successfully carried out, the provinces to the north eastward were desired, by the Governor of Virginia, to raise troops, and march on the French frontier, low down on the Lakes, in order to occupy the attention of the enemy's forces in winter quarters, in that direction, that those on the Ohio might not be reinforced.

Aid was likewise solicited from the southern Indians, by sending messengers to the Catawbas and Cherokees. Assistance from the Delawares and Twightees, and other nations in Ohio, was also expected. But the powerful nations of Ottowas and Chippewas were the allies of the French, and their strength was to be dreaded.

When Captain Trent had raised a party of men, he set out for the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny, to push on the erection of the fort. Major Washington remained, behind, actively engaged with others, raising the requisite number of men to follow, and ably garrison the fort when erected.

To facilitate the enlistment of the number of troops wanted, Governor Dinwiddie issued a proclamation, granting two thousand acres of land on the Ohio river,

to be divided among those who would do service in the expedition. One thousand acres were ordered to be laid off contiguous to the fort, at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny, for the use of the soldiers doing duty there, to be called *the garrison lands*.

“The reasons assigned by the governor to the ministers for making this grant were, that he hoped the soldiers would become permanent settlers, and that it was better to secure the lands by such a bounty, than to allow the French to take quiet possession of as many millions of acres as he had granted thousands. His proclamation was sanctioned by the King, but it was not well received in another quarter. The Assembly of Pennsylvania took alarm at the freedom, with which lands, situate as they said in that province, were given away. Governor Hamilton wrote an expostulatory letter. It was a perplexing case; but Governor Dinwiddie escaped from the difficulty by replying, that the claims of Pennsylvania were at least doubtful, the boundary line not having been run, that the object in view equally concerned both provinces, that his grant did not necessarily imply future jurisdiction, and that, if the Pennsylvania should be established, the quitrents might eventually be paid to the proprietary instead of the crown.”\*

North Carolina extended her aid by a vote of the Assembly, of twelve thousand pounds, and forwarded information, that a respectable number would soon be raised to join them. About the same time, two independent companies from New York, and one from South Carolina, were enlisted under the auspices of the Earl of Holderness. “These were colonial troops, raised

\* Sparks.

and supported at the king's charge, and commanded by officers with royal commissions, they could be marched to any part of the continent."

The 1st of April arriving, six companies were in the field. The services of Col. Joshua Fry being perhaps unexpectedly received, he was appointed to the chief command; and Major Washington to the second in command, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. It was now concluded to proceed with the troops and reinforce Captain Trent on the Ohio. Col. Washington, who had, during the winter, rendezvoused two companies at Alexandria, was ordered in with this portion of the troops. The artillery and other heavy articles were sent up the Potomac by water. On the 20th of the same month, Col. Washington reached Will's creek; having been joined on the way by another company, under Captain Stephen. Two days before he arrived at this place, a rumor met him, that Captain Trent's company had been driven from the Ohio by the French and Indians; and soon the arrival of Ensign Ward, of the company, confirmed the report.

On the 17th of April, it seemed, while they were busily engaged in erecting the fortification, the company, numbering forty-one men, under the command of Ensign Ward—on account of the absence of Captain Trent at Will's creek, and Lieutenant Frazier at his residence on the Monongahela—that there suddenly appeared on the bosom of the Allegheny, descending from above, a fleet of sixty bateaus and three hundred canoes, promiscuously manned with above one thousand French and Indians. M. de Contrecoeur commanded the formidable host, and eighteen pieces of cannon were brought with them. Sweeping down abreast with a most imposing display, they landed on the opposite

shore from the fort, and disembarked, parading their cannon and forces on the bank. Two or three messengers in a canoe being sent across by the commandant to the workmen, an immediate surrender was demanded, with threats of instant hostilities if the terms were not complied with.

Ensign Ward, with so small a party, and an unfinished fortification, could consequently do but little better than capitulate on almost any terms dictated by so formidable a force. However, some little generosity was extended him in the predicament. He was permitted to withdraw his men, and have time to remove his work-tools.

The French in possession of the fort, commenced an immediate enlargement and completion of it, which they called Fort Du Quesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada.

Col. Washington, at Will's creek, near where the village of Cumberland has since been built, found himself, upon receipt of this intelligence, placed in a most critical juncture. Not joined yet by Col. Fry, his whole force did not number more than one hundred and fifty men; and already advanced to an outpost, further procedure into the country, where it was uncertain that succour would reach them, might seem imprudent. However, after sending expresses to the Governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, concerning the state of affairs, it was determined, in a council with the officers, to penetrate across the mountains as far as to the mouth of Redstone creek, on the Monongahela, and there employ the soldiers in erecting a fortification, till the arrival of reinforcements.

No route having been opened yet; and even an uncertainty often attending the proper direction they

should take, to thrid in the best manner the passes of the mountains, much difficulty and perplexity, it may be supposed, would attend the march. A road had to be cut out as they proceeded, trees felled, and rocks removed, which rendered their progress very slow and toilsome. In addition to these difficulties, before they had yet passed the mountains, their provisions failed; and they were obliged to resort principally to wild game for a sustenance.

Having at length effected a passage through the mountains, they reached the Youghiogeny, where they delayed to construct a bridge.

While here, Col. Washington was told by some traders and Indians, that a passage down the stream in boats was practicable, except at one place, where there were rapids. Anxious to ascertain the fact, he embarked in a canoe with five men, on a voyage of discovery, leaving the troops in command of a subordinate officer. Sweeping down the rapid current of the stream, encountering rocks, shoals, and limbs from impending trees, they had proceeded about thirty miles, when passing between rugged mountain defiles, they arrived at a fall, which completely arrested their further progress. Finding the navigation of the stream impracticable for the conveyance of the army, they concluded to return.

On regaining the army, Col. Washington was informed by a messenger from his old friend Tanacharison, the Half-King, that a detachment of French, hearing of his approach, had left the fort at the mouth of the Monongahela two days before, with the determination to attack the first English they met. These accounts were early confirmed by another messenger, who declared the French to be only a few miles distant.

Sensibly aware of the exposed condition of the army, in the heart of a wilderness, at a distance from any immediate succor; with but a few men; and not knowing what moment he might be attacked, he hastened to a place called the Great Meadows; where he threw up an entrenchment, and made other preparations, which rendered it "a charming field for an encounter," as he afterwards expressed it. Scouts were now sent out to reconnoitre, but returned without any intelligence of the enemy.

The next morning, Gist, Washington's former guide to Le Bœuf, came to the camp and informed him, that the detachment of French, about fifty in number, had been at his settlement the day before; and that on his way hither, he had observed their tracks not more than five miles distant.

During the next night, an express arrived from the Half-King, who, at the head of sixty of his warriors, was six miles distant, informing Col. Washington, "that he had seen the tracks of two Frenchmen, and the whole detachment was near." Though it was a dark and stormy night, Col. Washington immediately resolved to leave with a party of forty men, and join the Half-King.

Setting out through the darkness, while the rain fell in torrents, the party groped their way through the woods, aided by an occasional gleam of lightening, clambering over rocks and fallen trees; but the dawn of the morning of May 28th, was already in the sky before they had reached the Indian encampment. Arrived, a council was held with the Half-King and his chief warriors, and it was determined that they should march in their united strength against the French. Two Indians were despatched to discover the position of the enemy, who

returned and reported that they occupied a deep ravine, hidden by surrounding acclivities and rocks.

But before they left, it seems some disagreement took place between Col. Washington and the Half-King, about the manner in which the attack should be made. The savage commandant proposed, and strenuously insisted on, a particular mode of assault; his views were as decisively rejected by the other; and the result was, that the English and Indians separated. However, as afterwards appeared, both proceeded to attack the French.

When Col. Washington's party, marching in single file, came up with the French, though very near, before discovered, the alarm was taken, and springing to their feet, they threw themselves into instant attitude of defence. At this moment a "confused fire," as the Indians afterwards termed it, was opened by the English. The Indians, who, unknowingly to Col. Washington, had arrived at the place, first, chanced to be on the opposite side of the ravine, lying closely under the brow of the eminence; and upon the French returning the fire of the English, they rushed with tomahawk in hand upon the French, upon which they surrendered.

This account of the skirmish was afterwards given by Scarooyada, successor to the Half-King in command of the Delawares, who was in it; and though it differs from the way in which the incident is generally narrated, we are not aware why reliance might not be placed on it.

"The Indians scalped many of the dead French, sent their scalps, with a string of black wampum, to several other tribes, with a desire they should also take up the tomahawk against the French.\*

\* Hazard, vol. iv.

The French commander, M. de Jumonville, and ten of their men, were killed, and twenty-two taken prisoners, while some escaped. One of Col. Washington's men was killed, and three or four wounded. The prisoners were marched to the Great Meadows, and from thence, by a detachment, conducted over the mountains to the Governor of Virginia.

A declaration of war had not yet been made between Great Britain and France; and as this was the first clash of arms between the contending powers, seemingly replete with all the promises of an open rupture, it spread with rapidity, and constant exaggeration; and by the time it reached Paris, it had received the coloring of a highway assassination.

By order of the French government, a memoir of Jumonville was published, and he represented as way-laid and murdered, while bearing the despatches of a civil messenger. The object was to rouse the indignation of the people, and prepare them for what was anticipated. The harp-strings of Monsieur Thomas, a poet of eminence, trembled in response, and a copious epic was the result. Washington, for once, was branded with the name of assassin.

So soon as the news reached Fort Du Quesne of Jumonville's defeat, vigorous preparations were made to send a strong detachment against Washington. The Indians friendly to the English, aware of the movement, became alarmed for their safety. Knowing the Half-King having taken an open part against the French, they feared instant hostilities, and immediately retreated to the Great Meadows for protection, bringing with them their wives and children. Among them was Tan-a-charison's people, and queen Aliquippa and her son.

Gen. Washington, not unaware an attack would be

made immediately against him by the French, had at once set about enlarging the entrenchment, and erecting palisades; to which place, thus improved under necessitous circumstances, he gave the name of Fort Necessity.

Col. Fry having died at Will's creek, while on his way to join the army, the chief command devolved on Washington.

The army now at Fort Necessity, including some companies that had lately arrived, numbered about four hundred men. Leaving one company under Captain Mackey, to guard the fort, Col. Washington resolved to penetrate, by the nearest route that might be found, to the Monongahela, and there establish himself. But as the road, through a gorge of mountains a-head, was to be cut out and leveled, so as to allow the artillery carriages to pass, their progress was slow and laborious. At the end of two weeks they had but reached Gist's settlement, near where Connellsville now stands, a distance of only thirteen miles from where they had left. Here he was met by some Indians and French deserters, who told him that Fort Du Quesne was reinforced by troops from Canada, and that a strong detachment was about to march against him. A council of war being held, it was resolved to await the enemy here, at Gist's settlement; and an entrenchment for defence was begun. Captain Mackey was summoned to abandon the Fort at the Great Meadows, and join them with all possible haste. A council of war being again held, it was concluded, as the French detachment coming against them was doubtless large, that they would endeavor to make a retreat, if possible, over the mountains. But the scarcity of horses, and the requisite facilities to make a precipitate retreat, caused them to

abandon the intention to return farther than their old encampment, at the Great Meadows. After they arrived there, which they effected in two days, it was, therefore, thought advisable to remain, and make such further additions as the fortification might want, and in the mean time send expresses for assistance.

On the morning of the 3d of July, the French gave notice of their approach by a shot from an advance party, which wounded one of the sentinels; and soon information was had, that the whole body was only four miles distant. At eleven o'clock the enemy appeared before the fort, at a distance of six hundred yards, and opened an ineffectual fire. Gen. Washington drew up his troops outside the entrenchment, but as the enemy did not emerge from the shelter of the woods, he ordered them within again, with instructions to fire at discretion. The French and Indians principally occupied a wooded elevation that skirted the open space, in the centre of which was the fortification. An irregular fire of musketry was kept up till after night, without effect.

“In this way,” says Mr. Sparks, “the battle continued from eleven o'clock in the morning till eight at night, when the French called and requested a parley. Suspecting this to be a feint to procure the admission of an officer into the fort, that he might discover their condition, Col. Washington at first declined listening to the proposal, but when the call was repeated, with the additional request that an officer might be sent to them, engaging at the same time their parole for his safety, he sent out Captain Vanbraam, the only person under his command, that could speak French, except the Chevalier de Peyrouny, an ensign in the Virginia regiment, who was dangerously wounded, and disabled from

rendering any service on this occasion. Vanbraam returned, and brought with him from M. de Villiers, the French commander, proposed articles of capitulation. These he read and pretended to interpret, and some changes having been made by mutual agreement, both parties signed them about midnight.

“ By the terms of the capitulation, the whole garrison was to retire, and return without molestation to the inhabited parts of the country; and the French commander promised, that no embarrassment should be interposed, either by his own men or the savages. The English were to take away every thing in their possession, except their artillery, and to march out of the fort the next morning with the honors of war, their drums beating and colors flying. As the French had killed all the horses and cattle, Col. Washington had no means of transporting his heavy baggage and stores; and it was conceded to him, that his men might conceal their effects, and that a guard might be left to protect them, till horses could be sent up to take them away. Col. Washington agreed to restore the prisoners, who had been taken at the skirmish with Jumonville; and, as a surety for this article, two hostages, Captain Vanbraam and Captain Stobo, were delivered up to the French, and were to be retained till the prisoners should return. It was moreover agreed, that the party capitulating should not attempt to build any more establishments at that place, or west of the mountains, for the space of a year.

“ Early the next morning Col. Washington began to march from the fort in good order, but he had proceeded only a short distance, when a body of one hundred Indians, being a reinforcement to the French, came upon him, and could hardly be restrained from attacking his

men. They pilfered the baggage and did other mischief. He marched forward, however, with as much speed as possible, in the weakened and encumbered condition of his army, there being no other mode of conveying the wounded men and the baggage, than on the soldiers' backs.”\*

The attack of the Great Meadows, was assigned by the French, “not to disturb the peace, but revenge the assassination of one of their officers carrying a flag, and his escort; and to prevent any establishment of the English on the territory of the King of France.”

The French, elated with their success, in obliging the English to retire beyond the mountains, immediately evinced a determination to subjugate all the Indian tribes that had disproved their entrance into the country. Fearful for their safety, many of the Six Nations fled to the settlements over the mountains.

The Half-King, for the same reason, with many of his people, had returned as far as Aughwick.

The necessity for taking bolder measures to contend with the combined forces of the French and Indians were

\* It was stated, that after Tanacharison the Half-King came to Aughwick, he expressed much dissatisfaction at the conduct of Col. Washington to him, at the Great Meadows. “He said (though in a very moderate way, adding, that Col. Washington was a good-natured man, but had no experience) that he took upon him to command the Indians as his slaves, and that he would by no means take advice from the Indians. That he lay at one place from one full moon to the other, and made no fortification at all, but that little thing upon the meadow, when he thought the French would come up to him in open field. That had he taken the Half-King’s advice, and made such fortifications as the Half-King advised him to make, he certainly would have beaten the French off. That the French had acted as great cowards, and the English as fools; and that he (the Half-King) had carried off his wife and children, so did other Indians before the battle was begun, because Col. Washington would never listen to him, but would always be driving them on to fight by his directions.

now evident to the British. And it was immediately determined upon to raise a large force without delay. But before much could be accomplished in that way, the season became far advanced; and the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, yielding to the opinion of General Washington—who had strenuously opposed it from the first, on account of the lateness of the season—gave over the intention of a campaign till the ensuing spring. The route being a long and difficult one, the most favorable time of the year was a consideration of much moment.

## CHAPTER VII.

Aspect of affairs on the opening of the year 1755—Arrival of General Braddock from England, and his campaign commenced—Services of Captain Jack and his company rejected—Arrival at the Little Meadows—At the mouth of the Youghiogheny—St. Clair reconnoiters the fort—Cheerfulness among the troops—Battle of the Monongahela—Retreat of the army—Braddock's death and burial—Fawcet, a settler afterwards near Braddock's grave—Preparations made by the French at the fort to meet Braddock—Evening after the battle, at the fort—Beajeau—His ill-treatment from the commandant.

Governor Morris having succeeded Governor Hamilton in the administration, presents in his message, at the close of the year, a somewhat satisfactory statement of affairs at this period. "Many things," says he, "have occurred since the retreat from the forks of the Monongahela, [Monongahela] that have put our affairs in a very bad situation; much worse than his Majesty or his ministers have any knowledge of, or than they can possibly imagine. It appears the French have now at the Monongahela, about one thousand regular troops, besides Indians, are well supplied with provisions; and have lately received an additional number of cannon—that their upper forts are well garrisoned and provided; and that they are making a settlement of three hundred families in the country of the Twightees, at the south-west end of Lake Erie."

What made affairs still more alarming at this period,

was, many of the savages that had been neutral were becoming the allies of the French. The remnant of the Six Nations that remained in the country, had already principally ceded themselves to the French; and it was apprehended that the Shawnees and Delawares remaining on the Ohio, would likewise join them.

Such was the aspect of affairs at the opening of the year 1755. A great effort, it was plain, was to be made, or English claims to the Ohio region be abandoned. The French had already seemingly succeeded to their satisfaction in the execution of their purposes, and but a short time was necessary to establish themselves permanently in the country.

General Braddock arriving from England the ensuing spring, with two regiments, preparations were put under rapid progress for the campaign. The Delaware and other Indians, who had retreated to Aughwick, since the defeat of the English at the Great Meadows, agreed to join in the expedition. Tanacharison, the Half-King, having lately died, Scarooyada, an Oneida, had been appointed to the government of the affairs of the tribe. This chief had expressed himself warmly for the success of the English. He now sent messengers to the rest of this nation on the Ohio, and other Indians that had been friendly to the English, soliciting their assistance, in the projected attack on Fort Du Quesne. About the same time he departed on a journey to the Six Nations, to secure their assistance, but found them unfriendly to either French or English. They said, "that the French took their lands by force, and the English purchased them, piece by piece, for a little matter, which soon spent, they became straitened for lands."

The difficulty in raising provisions as well as troops, delayed the procedure of the army beyond the proposed

time. The backwardness of the province of Pennsylvania seemed to be the principal cause. Many of the inhabitants belonging to the Society of Friends, who were averse to warfare, was assigned as the main cause. And their conduct soon wasted the patience of General Braddock. "It is astonishing," says he, in a letter at the time, "to see one of the principal colonies persevering in neutrality, when his Majesty's dominions are invaded—when the enemy is on the frontiers—nay, when it is undetermined whether the Fort Du Quesne is not in the province of Pennsylvania."

And when General Braddock had reached Will's creek, where the provisions, and the horses and wagons for their conveyance, were to be furnished, his already provoked ill-humor knew no bounds, on finding the quantity ordered, not furnished, nor any facilities for their conveyance. The difficulty, however, being obviated, after some delay, through the exertions of Benjamin Franklin, postmaster-general of the province, the army took up the line of march about the beginning of June.

Scarooyada, and about forty of the Delaware warriors, had joined Braddock, a few days before he set out. The heroic *Captain Jack* and his party had likewise arrived, and proposed to accompany the army as scouts. But the offer of their services being rather despised than appreciated by Braddock, they returned to their fastnesses among the mountains of Juniata.

Mr. Peters, who had been appointed one of the commissioners to lay out a road from Fort Louden to the Turkey-Foot, on the Youghiogheny, as the three forks were called, arrived, on his return, at Will's creek, about the time the army was leaving, and strongly advised that rangers should precede the army for its defence.

He reported that there were many Indians in the mountains, and the road-cutters were beginning to be annoyed, and would be obliged to retreat if troops were not sent for their protection. But this suggestion, like many others, was rather treated with contempt by General Braddock than profited by.

Ten days after the army had left Will's creek, they reached a place called the Little Meadows, where a detachment of about five hundred troops, under Sir John St. Clair, quarter-master general of the army, then in advance, awaited. And as an abatis, encircling the camp, had been made by St. Clair in the meantime while delaying, the whole army halted for three days.

Pursuing their march again, St. Clair in advance, General Braddock followed with twelve hundred men and some artillery wagons, leaving Colonel Dunbar to bring up the rear, with the remainder of the troops and the stores of the army.

About this time Col. Washington was taken seriously ill with a fever, and rendered unable to proceed any further. Under the care of a physician, however, he rapidly recovered, and in a few days set out after the army. He overtook General Braddock near the mouth of the Youghiogheny, eleven miles from Fort Du Quesne.

A cheerfulness now pervaded the whole army; sanguine in the anticipation of reaching their destination that day, and triumphantly entering the gates of the enemy's stronghold.

Steep and rugged hills putting into the water's edge, on the northern shore, obliged the army to ford the stream at this place, and continue down the opposite side a short distance, before re-crossing.

Early in the morning (the 9th of July) the stream was

passed in regular train, the water being low, and the march continued along the southern marge.

“Washington was often heard to say during his life-time, that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld was the display of the British troops on this eventful morning. Every man was neatly dressed in full uniform, the soldiers were arranged in columns and marched in exact order, the sun gleamed from their burnished arms, the river flowed tranquilly on their right, and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on their left.”

“How brilliant that morning! but how melancholy that evening!” as one has aptly expressed it. “Braddock appeared almost to have courted defeat”—undreamed of defeat, that awaited to tarnish his arms before the sun of that day should set!

The movements of the army westward had been no secret to the French at Fort Du Quesne. They had been daily watched by Indian spies, and the progress of their march regularly reported at the fort.

But General Braddock, on the other hand, could collect no information that might be relied on respecting the French. Sometimes the number of their troops was represented by Indians and deserters from the fort, to be more than one thousand, at other times not more than two hundred. “Sir John St. Clair, who had advanced near enough to view the fort, and consider the adjacent ground, remarked a small eminence that was within cannon shot of it; and the fort being built of wood, if garrisoned with a thousand men, it was proposed to erect a battery on this eminence, and set fire to the place, by throwing into it a great number of red-hot balls.”

The eminence alluded to may have been the high hill

on the opposite side of the Monongahela, or perhaps the abrupt elevation between the two rivers, where three years afterwards occurred the fatal skirmish of Grant. That as may be—such, however, seems to have been the scheme of attack; but the sanguine anticipations of the infatuated commander, as well as of his buoyant army, were not to be realized.

The gallant troops pursuing their march with all the “pomp and circumstance” of English military discipline, arrived about noon, of the 9th of July, at the last fording place, a short distance below the mouth of Turtle creek. Crossing the river, their route lay over a plain of gradual ascent, with a ravine on either hand. The plain at the time was partially wooded, and the ravines were filled with undergrowth. The last of the troops had scarcely gained the northern bank, when the report of a heavy discharge of musketry, opened on the advanced portions of the army, apprised them of an attack. Surprised by an invisible foe, that poured successive volleys upon them with deadly aim, the front of the army, consisting of two detachments, one of three hundred and the other of two hundred men, were startled, and thrown into confusion. They irregularly returned the fire however, but their shots were at random, and had but little effect.

Braddock hastened forward with the main body of the army to sustain the front division, “but before he could reach the spot which they occupied, they gave way, and fell back upon the artillery and other columns of the army, causing extreme confusion, and striking the whole mass with such a panic, that no order could afterwards be restored.” Every effort made by the officers to rally the troops, and bring them to bear in concert upon the enemy, was inefficient. A deadly

fire was soon opened from the ravines as well as in front, which increased the confusion; and being prohibited from fighting the enemy in their own way, from behind trees and other obstacles, the soldiers huddled together in disorder, and urged to the attack, as often unfortunately shot down their own officers and men, as the enemy.

It was said the provincial forces were the only troops "that retained their senses, exhibiting a bravery and resolution "worthy of a better fate." Principally brought up on the frontiers, and consequently acquainted with the best modes of fighting the enemy they now contended with, they coolly retreated to trees and logs to take as deliberate aim as their adversaries; while the British regulars, at the command of the officers, endeavoring to form into platoons and columns, were, as conspicuous as unannoying, objects to the concealed Indians.

But all was of no avail; the officers bravely meeting the aim of "sharp-shooters," especially directed against them, vainly attempted to form and rally the men. Braddock himself displaying courage worthy of his rank, though more like that of a madman, as has been applied to him, rode in every direction among the troops, still giving decisive orders for the formation of the ranks. The fifth horse had already fallen under him when his career was about to be arrested, and the desperate drama of the battle arrive at the last scene.

His rage knew no bounds on discovering the provincials, instead of using their presence of mind to form into columns, retreat behind trees, and other obstacles.

An act of his rashness, to prevent this only successful way to battle the enemy, was the cause, but too

justly, of the loss of his own life. As he hurried from one portion of the troops to another, often "cutting and slashing at his own men," who were deaf, from the din and disorder of the battle, to the voice of the officers, it happened he made a fell swoop, with his sword, at a young provincial behind a tree, while in the act of discharging his rifle, which felled the young soldier to the ground. His brother, standing near by, seeing him thus treated, and expiring under the gash of the commander's sword, instantly took aim at the maddened tyrant, and sent a ball through him, bringing him reeling, mortally wounded, to the ground.

The officers being already principally killed or disabled, while devastation thickened in the broken ranks Col. Washington, who had been reproached and stigmatized as a "young buckskin," by the commander, for presuming to forewarn him of the fate that now had too truly overtaken the army, took command of the surviving troops, and as no hope remained to change the destiny of the day, ordered a retreat; which many, through dismay, as well as disheartened at the conduct of the general, had already commenced. Abandoning the artillery and many their guns, the surviving soldiers gathered up many of the wounded in their arms, and precipitately fled across the river; many more losing their lives in the hurried retreat through the stream, quickened by the hellish yells of the Indians, rushing from their places of concealment, with glutted joy, upon the spoil and plunder of the blood-stained field. Their destruction might have been entire, had they been pursued by the victorious enemy. But the Indians, "satiated with carnage and plunder could not be tempted from the field," and the French

alone were too few in number, to pursue their victims. The retreat of the unhappy survivors was as tardy as dispiriting. They generally bore their wounded with them as well as was practicable, till wagons were ordered forward from Colonel Dunbar, who still remained behind.

General Braddock, who had been borne from the field on sashes, early in the retreat, and still lingering in the agonies of body and mind, died the fourth day after his fatal defeat, and was buried in the centre of the road his advancing army had cut. And to prevent discovery of the spot, that his body might not be disinterred and mutilated by the savages, soldiers, horses and wagons were passed over it. Some of Braddock's men, who had crossed from Old England with him, unfit as they were, as the present campaign proved, for service in the forests of America, displayed an affection on parting with the remains of their general, upon consigning them to a wilderness burial, deeply interesting. They so marked the trees around the else-unmarked forest-grave of their unfortunate commander, that the recollections of those who visited the west many years afterwards could point out the exact place of his repose; soon known alike to the settler and traveler as BRADDOCK'S GRAVE. The spot is still to be seen. It is close to the northern side of the National road, about seven miles east of Uniontown in Fayette county.

Thomas Fawcet, who avenged his brother's blood in the death of Braddock, afterwards moved to the west, and built his cabin but a few miles from the memorable burial-spot of the General, where he lived to a very advanced age.

The reason why this account of the death of General

Braddock was not inserted in the published accounts of the battle at the time, was, as is alleged by a correspondent of the National Intelligencer, that if it had been known then, Fawcet, amenable to the law, might have lost his own life for the daring act. But after the Revolution, when British authority, and with it its tyranny, was swept from the land, the real cause of Braddock's death was no longer a half-whispered, half-believed tale; the person that did it boldly asserted it. "When my father was removing," says the correspondent just alluded to, "with his family to the west, one of the Fawcets kept a public-house to the eastward from where Uniontown now stands, in the county of Fayette, Pa. This man's house we lodged in about the 10th of October, 1781, twenty-six years and four months after Braddock's defeat, and there it was made any thing but a secret, that one of the family had dealt the death-blow to the British general. Thirteen years afterwards, I met Thomas Fawcet in Fayette county, then, as he told me, in the 70th year of his age. To him I put the plain question, and received the plain reply, "*I did shoot him.*" He then went on to insist, that by doing so, he contributed to save what was left of the army. "In brief," concludes the writer, "in my youth I never heard the fact either doubted or blamed, that Fawcet shot Braddock."

Obstinate, beyond the reach of advice or entreaty, Braddock viewed alike with contempt the suggestions and precautions of his officers and friends. Before his march from Will's creek, he had been tendered the prudent council of Dr. Franklin, but rejected it, with retorting, that he esteemed his adviser a better philosopher than soldier.

The Indians that had accompanied the army had been

received only at the earnest solicitation of Washington, but were not permitted to act as spies, and render themselves useful in that way. They had made frequent applications to the general for privilege to precede the army and reconnoitre, but were as often spurned from his presence. In consequence of which, many of them had left in disgust. "On the evening preceding the action they came again to the camp, and renewed their offer. Again Col. Washington interposed, and urged the importance of these men as scouts and out-guards, from their knowledge of the ground, and skill in fighting among the woods. Relying on the prowess of his regular troops, and disdaining such allies, the general peremptorily refused to receive them, in a tone more decided than ungracious.\* Had a scouting party of a dozen Indians preceded the army after it crossed the Monongahela, they would have detected the enemy in the ravines, and reversed the fortunes of the day."

The approach of the army over the mountains was not unknown early, as we have said, to the French at the fort. Its progress had been daily watched and reported by Indians employed for the purpose. And considerable uneasiness, it seems, was occasioned by the accounts that were received. The enemy was supposed to number three thousand. The exaggeration would, of course, disconcert the French commander, and place him in a crisis that would tax his ingenuity and bravery. His troops, from the best accounts,

\* This was told me," says Mr. Sparks, from whom we obtained the above, "by William Butler, a very old man, who had been a soldier in the action of the Monongahela, and who said he was standing as sentinel at the door of the general's tent, and heard the conversation. Seventy-five years after the battle, there were at least two men living in Pennsylvania, who were engaged in it."

did not number a hundred for each reported thousand of the advancing British. Much hesitation ensued, what should be done. Their little force would, of course, seem to them altogether inadequate to contend with so formidable an army. The commander, Contrecoeur, expressed the necessity of either a retreat or surrender. But, for the honor of the French arms, it was contended by a young officer in the fort, M. de Beajeau, that some resistance ought to be made. By accident, there were encamped, at the time, about the fort, some four or five hundred Indians. It was proposed, by the officer to the commander, that if a detachment from the fort were granted him, and he could secure the aid of the Indians, he would meet the English and give them battle. It seems his proposal did not meet the approbation of the commander, further than he agreed not to prohibit any soldiers that would volunteer, to accompany him to a certain distance. The consent of the Indians was now to be obtained. The young officer, in the flush of hope for the success of his enterprise, flew to the camps of the savages and opened to them his scheme. But his spirits were soon damped, at unexpectedly receiving a refusal from them. They told him the English were too many; they could not fight them. He urged them to hold a council with their chief warriors, and he would call upon them for an answer the ensuing morning. This they agreed to do. The morning came. Beajeau hastened to them, to learn the result of their deliberations. Their answer, to his great dejection, was as before. Being a man much beloved by the Indians, he gave them a spirited harangue—told them he was determined to go out and meet the enemy. “What! will you suffer your father to go alone? I am sure we shall conquer.” Pleased

with the sanguine eloquence of the young Frenchmen, they were won upon, and soon agreed to accompany him.

This was two days before the battle. The meantime was spent in making preparations. James Smith, who had been taken captive by the Indians a short time before, while assisting in cutting the road, already spoken of, to the forks of the Youghiogheny, being at this time a prisoner in the fort, says in his narrative: "On the 9th of July, 1755, I heard a great stir in the fort. As I then could walk with a staff, I went out of the door, which was just by the wall of the fort, and stood upon the wall, and viewed the Indians in a huddle before the gate, where were barrels of powder, bullets, flints, &c., and every one taking what suited. I saw the Indians also march off in rank entire, likewise the French Canadians and some regulars. After viewing the French and Indians in different positions, I computed them to be about four hundred, and wondered that they attempted to go out with so small a party against Braddock."

The youthful commander of the almost hopeless expedition, was accompanied, it appears, by two captains, four lieutenants, six ensigns, and two cadets. But by what number of privates is unknown. It has been stated, on the authority of General Washington, that the French volunteers were but thirty in all, and the Indians that accompanied about four hundred.

It seems they had intended to make the attack upon the English as they crossed the river, and if repulsed, to retreat to the grounds which they afterwards occupied. But the march of the army had been speedier during the day than had been expected, and was already crossing the river, when they arrived in sight.

The fate of the day has already been related. The

battle lasted but three hours, when the little detachment from the fort had stemmed the prowess of Braddock's thousands, and driven the survivors in despair on a homeward march.

Near eight hundred of their men were left on the field, weltering in the gore of their wounds—the plunder of the savages, and afterwards the food of howling beasts of prey, while but few French or Indians were killed or wounded. The battle-ground, for years afterwards, lay whitened with the bones of the slain. In 1758, when the English took possession of the fort, a party was sent out, who collected and buried upwards of four hundred and fifty skulls.\* Many remained, ungathered, long afterwards, as monuments of the memorable scene.

Loaded with the spoils of victory, and reeking scalps torn from the heads of the dead and dying, the Indians returned towards evening, startling the echoes of the woods with hideous yells of their joy. So soon as the news of victory reached the fort, the transports of the commander knew no bounds. The great guns were fired, and the voice of joy went throughout the fort. At the onset of the battle, before the English ranks were broken to any extent, victory was doubtful, which had been reported to the commander by Indian runners. And now that the honor and reward of victory was theirs, the evening was given to revelry and joy.

At sunset a small party of Indians arrived with about a dozen of prisoners under escort, who were stripped naked, their hands tied behind their backs, with their faces and part of their bodies painted black, in token of the dreadful death that now awaited them.

\* Judge Yeates.

They were marched to the bank of the Allegheny, opposite the fort, and burnt, amidst the fiendish yells and rejoicings of the savages.

Monsieur de Contrecoeur, who had received the young hero of the day in open arms from the “victorious fight,” and loaded him with the most extravagant honors, sent him in a few days to report the success of their arms to the governor-general of Canada. “But, behold, when the despatches were opened, they consisted of criminal charges of peculation in his office of paymaster, and other charges equally criminal;” on account of which the gallant officer was sent home under arrest, tried, and broken of his commission. Sorrowing over his misfortunes, “he secluded himself in Switzerland, where he remained in obscurity till after our Revolution. He was re-called after Lafayette’s return to France, who, while in America, had heard the true history of Brad-dock’s defeat.”

## CHAPTER VIII.

Evil consequences of the defeat of Braddock—Sanguine anticipations of the French—Block-houses erected along the Pennsylvania frontier—King Shingiss—Kittanning villages—Armstrong's expedition against them—Their destruction—Mercers' hardships returning from the expedition—Armstrong presented with a silver medal by the corporation of Philadelphia.

The disastrous consequences of the defeat of Braddock were long and severely experienced on the frontiers of the neighboring provinces. The French, emboldened with their success, instigated the Indians to murderous incursions against the inhabitants, by offering a bounty for scalps, and proposing to re-instate them in the possession of their lands which they had sold to the English.\*

The Indians ever ready to join the stronger party, and now that the English had been successfully driven from the Ohio, almost all the tribes near around immediately became the allies of the French. With the aid of so many savages, it was projected to take possession of all the country west of the Susquehanna, by building several forts among the mountains, and further eastward. One especially it was proposed should be built at the mouth of the Juniata, and thereby check the progress of the English settlements towards the country of the Six Nations, and by cutting off communication, keep those tribes aloof from their influence.

But before the French had time to put into execution

\* Hazard, vol. v.

these designs, the continued irruptions of the Indians into the settlements had called for such speedy relief as thwarted them in their project. As early as the January of the year following the campaign of Braddock, the Governor of Pennsylvania, in person, had repaired to the frontiers, and put under way the erection of block-houses all along the Kittochtinny hills—the most eastern of the Allegheny ranges—which were well calculated to check marauding parties, and “render the settlements within them tolerably secure.”

The Shawnees and Delawares, it appears, had joined themselves with the French immediately after the defeat of Braddock, except the small party under Scaroo-yada, who had again retreated east of the mountains.

This chief had been sent about this time to effect a conciliation with some Delawares on the Susquehanna; but being very uncourteously received, had narrowly escaped with his life. So hostile were they towards the English, or any taking part with them.

In the autumn of this same year was heard of king Shingiss, at the head of a party of his warriors, committing depredations on the frontiers in the neighborhood of Fort Cumberland. It seems he had removed his residence from Chartiers creek to the Kittanning villages, forty-five miles above on the Allegheny, where he became an associate of Captain Jacobs, the chief warrior and grand sachem of the town.

This ancient favorite spot of the Red-man is now occupied, as is known, by the seat of justice for Armstrong county, Pa.; still bearing its Indian name. It was a Delaware town, and a prominent place, as a rendezvous for the Indians about the period of which we write.

An alluvial tract extends back from the river about

thirty perches, where a second gentle rise occurs, which continues back level to the base of the high hill. On this second bank was built the Indian villages, while the intermediate space to the river was occupied by corn-fields. The town contained nearly forty regularly built cabins. It seems to have been the grand metropolis of the savages of the Allegheny—where the voyaging Frenchman and Indian, alike, failed not to land their canoes, as they passed.

Many were the scalping parties that emanated from this place, and great the consequent distress on the frontiers. Small companies of provincial troops were obliged to be constantly placed on the frontiers for the protection of the inhabitants, and scouts regularly kept out on the alert. Yet with all the vigilance employed, the adroit savages often both killed and captured in their very midst.

It was known that many of the parties proceeded from the Kittanning villages; and it was suggested as an excellent expedient to arrest their depredations, to route them from this place, and destroy their town.

With such powerful instigators as king Shingiss and Captain Jacobs, it was correctly surmised, that any other mode to restrain depredating parties sallying from this place might not be effective.

Accordingly in September, 1756, Colonel Armstrong, at the head of three hundred and seven men, was ordered on an expedition to effect this purpose. Prepared with suitable guides, and persons adept in reconnoitering to precede him, he set out from Fort Shirely, on the head-waters of the Juniata, and striking through the almost unknown forests, arrived in three days, as they supposed, within about fifty miles of the villages. It was now adjudged prudent to send forward a party to re-

connoiter. A company of four persons, two of whom had long been traders among the Indians, were selected and ordered on. The main body followed leisurely, and two days afterwards were met by the scouts on their return. They had approached the place undiscovered, but not sufficiently near to ascertain its strength, or the best manner in which an attack could be made.

The little army now hastened their march, that they might get near enough to the town that night, to be prepared to make an attack on it early in the morning.

A short time after dark, a fire was discovered directly a-head. One of the guides creeping cautiously forward, found that it was an encampment of seemingly not more than three or four Indians. It was at first agreed to surround them, and cut them off. But upon more deliberation, this was thought a hazardous expedient, for if any should escape, warning would reach the town, and the designs of the army be defeated.

It was, therefore, thought advisable to leave a small party to watch them till morning, and hasten forward with the main body of the troops near to the town, that the plan of attack might be determined upon before the moon should set, by the light of which they were alone able to travel.

Lieutenant Hogg, with twelve men and one guide, were accordingly appointed to remain, with orders to keep strict watch over the encampment, but not to make an attack till break of day.

As they reckoned they were not more than six miles from the village, they concluded likewise to leave their horses and baggage; and striking off to one side, that they might not be discovered at the fire, they proceeded on their way. And soon the beating of a drum,

and the sounds of savage revelry, told them of their nigh approach to the place of their destination; which, it seems, now alone directed them on their course, as the guides had lost the right path.

They struck the river about a hundred perches below the town. The moon was nearly down; and although the Indians had not retired to rest, it was thought expedient to improve the time it still should shine, in noticing the situation of the town, and determining on the manner in which the attack should be made.

Almost at this moment a strange whistle was heard in a corn-field, about thirty perches from them. Whispered orders were given along the line, for the men to sink softly to the ground. It was feared they were discovered by the Indians, and the signal was thus given.

Shortly afterwards a number of fires appeared in different parts of the corn-field.

The secret of all was, however, explained by one of the guides, as being preparatory to retiring to rest. It seems they had chosen the corn-field, as the night was warm, to sleep in; and the object of the fires was to disperse the gnats.

It being a night of festivity and dancing with the savages, many did not retire till morning; and the troops, in consequence, were obliged to lie quiet.

Soon the dawn of morning was seen in the sky. The soldiers weary with thirty miles march, during the previous day and night, had principally sunk on their arms to sleep. Having marched in single file, the line was long, and reached to the top of the hill. The men being roused to their feet, a proper number of those in the rear were ordered to march under their respective officers along the top of the hill, to opposite the upper end of the town, with instructions to descend

from that, and commence an attack simultaneous with the main body of the troops, on the lower end of the town.

A supposed sufficiency of time having elapsed for the detachment to reach the proposed place, Colonel Armstrong, with the remaining troops in readiness, dashed into the corn-field, expecting to come suddenly upon the sleeping warriors. But awoke perhaps with the violent approach of the soldiers, they had fled to the village. Several shots, however, were fired in mistake, as the men hurried through the rustling corn in pursuit.

From the fields they proceeded to the town, where all was confusion, from the detachment above having commenced the attack. Several guns were now fired by the Indians on the opposite side of the river at the party, but without doing any injury.

The detached party, consisting of three companies, upon reaching the place on the hill from whence they were to descend, had formed their companies separately one man deep; each captain stood in front of his men; and a march directly down the hill was commenced: orders being given for every man to do for himself.

The quick step of the soldiers had raised a general bark of the dogs. "From the nearest house an Indian came out," says one of the soldiers in his narrative, "and holding his hands, as shading the light from his eyes, looked towards us until there were five guns fired at him; he then ran, and with a loud voice, called *Shewanic*, which signifies *white men*."

"Captain Jacobs" says Col. Armstrong, "immediately gave the war-whoop, and with sundry other Indians as the English prisoners afterwards told, cried, the white men have come at last, and they would now have

scalps enough; but at the same time ordered their squaws and children to flee to the woods."

The attack was now general, and the fire returned with great resolution by the Indians—particularly from the house of Captain Jacobs, which being built with port-holes, had been intended to repel any attack made against the town. Many of the soldiers becoming wounded, without effecting any thing against the Indians, on account of their defending themselves from their houses, it was determined to set fire to the town.

Many of the cabins, therefore, soon being in flames, the Indians began to make their escape rapidly into the corn and to the woods.

About this time a number of Indians were discovered crossing the river from the other side, and landing a short distance above the town. Several of the men hastened to intercept them; who afterwards retired to the hill to prevent those that were escaping, and others from surrounding them.

As the fire increased, some of the men were ordered to tell the Indians in their own language to surrender themselves prisoners. "One of the Indians in particular answered, that he was a man, and would never be a prisoner. Upon which he was told he would be burnt. To which he answered, he did not care, as he would kill four or five before he died."

As the fire began to approach, and the smoke grow thick, one of the Indians, to show his courage, began to sing, which is a custom with them in submitting to death by fire. A squaw in the same house, and at the same time, was heard to cry and make a noise; but for doing so was severely rebuked by the men. But soon the fire growing too hot for them, two Indians and a squaw sprang out, and made for the corn field, but were immediately shot down.

Several of the soldiers were already killed, and others wounded, from the spirited defence the Indians made. Col. Armstrong had received a severe wound in the shoulder, from having been frequently exposed to the enemy, in hastening from one place to another, giving orders.

As the cabins were burning, a succession of explosions was heard from fire-arms and quantities of powder stored in the houses.

Captain Jacob's house and a few adjoining cabins, now only remained not on fire. The proud warrior was called to, to come forth and surrender himself, or he would be burnt in his house. He answered in a haughty tone, that he could eat fire and disregarded their threat.

"Are there none of you?" said Col. Armstrong to his men, "that will set fire to these rascals that have wounded me and killed so many of us. John Ferguson, a soldier, swore he would. He went to a house covered with bark, and took a strip of it which had fire on it, and rushed up to the cover of Jacob's house and held it there till it had burned about a yard square. Then he ran and the Indians fired at him. The smoke blew about his legs and the shots missed him."\* It was known that Jacob's house contained the magazine. All eyes were now upon it, watching if the Indians would not escape from it, knowing their danger. They remained till the fire reaching the guns discharged them in quick succession.

The noble warrior at length becoming intimidated leaped from the loft of his house; but he scarcely had reached the ground till a number of balls were through

\* Robinson's Narrative.

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him. Next followed his squaw, wielding a tomahawk around her head; then his son; but both were shot down as they sprang towards the corn-field. Almost at the same moment the magazine blew up, carrying off the roof of the house, and throwing into the air a portion of the body of an Indian, and a child three or four years old, so high they appeared as nothing, as it was expressed by some of the soldiers afterwards. A great quantity of goods, presents from the French, were also destroyed by the fire.

During the action eleven white persons, prisoners in the town, made their escape to the soldiers, who informed Colonel Armstrong, that that very day two batteaus of French and a large party of Delaware warriors were to join Captain Jacobs at Kittanning, who were to set out the next morning on an expedition against Fort Shirely. He was likewise informed that a party of Indians, twenty-four in number, who had lately arrived in town, had set out the evening before. But whether they had gone to kill meat for the expedition, or to spy the Fort, they had not learned.

Upon hearing this it was thought that this must have been the party they had come across the evening before, which Lieutenant Hogg had been left to attack. Fears at once were expressed for his fate; for with so few men left with him, it was supposed he must doubtless be cut off.

The object of their errand being now accomplished; the proud Kittanning villages being reduced to ashes; the inhabitants killed or routed, the triumphant party prepared to return. Being uneasy for the fate of Lieutenant Hogg and his men, made them the more anxious to leave. While they began to entertain fears for themselves on account of having left under the care

of the Lieutenant, their horses, blankets and provisions; which, if fallen into the hands of the enemy, might reduce them to an uncomfortable situation; having no provisions with them there, and none nearer than thirty miles, where some had been "scaffolded" as they came.

Having stripped the scalps from the heads of as many of the victims slain, as they could find among the smouldering ruins; particularly those from Capt. Jacobs, his squaw and his son, and having procured from the grand warrior, his implements for the fight and chase, they hastened to depart, nor waited to destroy the corn as they had intended.

The wounded being collected, a few Indian horses were fortunately procured, on which they were placed, when they left.

After leaving the town, a few shots were received from some scattered Indians in the woods; but no injury sustained further than one of the soldiers being shot through both ankles.

When the company reached the place where they had left Lieutenant Hogg the evening before, they met with the sergeant of one of the companies, and two or three others who had deserted in the morning shortly after the attack had been commenced on the town. These men on approaching the encampment, had met with Lieutenant Hogg lying beside the path wounded. They were here told by him of the fatal mistake that had been made in supposing the party of Indians at the fire to be only two or three in number, whom he found in the morning, when he made the attack according to orders, to be much superior to his party in point of numbers. Though nothing intimidated, a brisk fire was opened on the savages as they rose from their slum-

bers, and three killed, and some wounded. The others taking alarm at the suddenness of the attack, had fled a short distance, but discovering the fewness of their assailants in number, they rushed back and seized their guns, when a warm engagement commenced, which lasted about an hour. By this time three of Lieutenant Hogg's men being killed, and himself wounded in two places in the body, the rest fled; Lieutenant Hogg being unable to make his escape with them, had squatted into a thicket where he remained unperceived until the deserters from the town came up with him. By their assistance he endeavored to leave. They had gone but a short distance, when a party of four Indians appeared in the path before them. The sergeant and his cowardly comrades fled, leaving Hogg to his fate. The Indians pursued and killed one man. Hogg again received a wound in the abdomen, of which he shortly afterwards died.

Collecting a few of the articles left at this place the night before, which the Indians had suffered to remain, Colonel Armstrong and his party proceeded on their homeward march without further molestation.

Captain Mercer, who had had his arm broken in the engagement, was unhappily persuaded by some of his men to leave the main party; and as they were old traders, they proposed to conduct him a nearer way home. They accordingly detached themselves from the company, but unhappily soon fell in with the Indians with whom Lieutenant Hogg had the engagement in the morning, by whom several of the party were killed, and the remainder dispersed. Mercer made his escape in company with two others. But the bandage of his arm becoming loosed, they stopped to re-bind it, upon which he grew faint. At this moment

an Indian was seen to approach them. His two companions abandoning him sprang upon his horse, from which he had alighted, and hurried away. Mercer threw himself behind the log that he was sitting upon. It happening to be overgrown with weeds; he succeeded in concealing himself from the Indian, who had approached to within a few feet of him, when, on discovering the other two speeding away on horseback, he gave the war-whoop, and ran after them.

Shortly afterwards, Mercer crawled from the place of concealment and descended into a plumb-tree bottom, where, hidden by the thick undergrowth, he remained till night. Having refreshed himself in the meantime with the plums, which he found in abundance, and which afterwards were his only food for a whole month, while he struggled on his homeward way, except a rattle-snake, which the cravings of hunger had pushed him to kill and eat raw.

One day when he had reached the north side of the Allegheny mountain, he discovered a person whom he supposed to be an Indian. The other saw him. They both took trees, and remained a long time. At length Mercer concluded to go forward and meet his enemy; but when he came near, he found the other to be one of his own men. Both rejoiced to meet, while both were so faint and weary they were scarcely able to walk. They pushed over the mountain, and were not far from Frankstown, when the soldier lay down with an expectation never more to rise. Mercer struggled about seven miles further when he also lay down on the leaves, abandoning all hope of ever reaching home. At this time there was a company of Cherokees in British pay; and being at Fort Lyttleton, some of them had been sent out to search along the foot of the moun-

tain, to see if there were any signs of Indians on that route. These Indians by chance came upon Mercer, unable to rise. They gave him food, and he told them of the other. They took Mercer's track and found the soldier, and brought him to Fort Lyttleton, carrying him on a bier of their own making.\*

The number of the Indians killed on the expedition is not known. But their loss is estimated at considerable, many having been killed in their flight across the river, and others mortally wounded, who crept into the woods, as was supposed, to conceal themselves.

Of Colonel Armstrong's loss no correct accounts are on record. A day or two after the return of the main party an official statement was made, which was sixteen killed, twelve wounded, and eighteen missing.

Eleven prisoners were released from the Indians; who reported that the Indians had been talking of fortifying Kittanning and other towns.

The report of the explosion of the magazine under Captain Jacobs' house had been heard at Fort Du Quesne; upon which, it appears, some French and Indians, apprehensive of an attack made on the town, had set off immediately up the river, but did not reach the place till the day after, when the troops were withdrawn. They found among the ruins the bodies of Captain Jacobs, his squaw, and his son.

"Captain Jacobs said he could take any fort that would catch fire, and would make peace with the English when they had learned him to make gunpowder."†

For the activity and gallantry displayed by Colonel Armstrong on this occasion, an appropriate silver medal was ordered by the corporation of Philadelphia to be struck and presented to him.

\* Robinson's Narrative.

† Hazard, v. 325.

## CHAPTER IX.

Change in the British ministry—Three campaigns determined on—General Forbes against Fort Du Quesne—Troops assemble at Raystown—New route to the west resolved on—Loyalhanna fort erected—Grant's fatal skirmish near the French fort—Major Lewis and Colonel Grant prisoners—Capture of Fort Du Queene by General Forbes.

The period of 1757 was one of considerable misdoubt and vexation to the British nation. The many defeats that had attended their expeditions against the enemy, and the uniform success of their opponents since the outbreak of the war, rendered it extremely doubtful whether the French or British arms should yet have the ascendancy in the New World.

But an event was now about to take place, under which the fortunes of war promised immediate change. This was the creation of a new ministry in England, at the head of which was placed William Pitt, afterwards the Earl of Chatham. Soon indeed seemed an entire "change to come over the spirit" of the nation's affairs. Under the new administration "public confidence revived, and the nation seemed inspired with new life and vigor." The popularity of the new premier was equally great in both hemispheres, and his instructions consequently attended to with the utmost promptitude. The ensuing spring presented an army of fifty thousand men ready for the field; the most powerful force ever seen in America.

With this large body it was determined three several campaigns should be undertaken. The first against

Louisberg, the second against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the third against Fort Du Quesne.

The first of these expeditions was successful. The almost impregnable Louisberg fell. The second was not so successful, but terminated in the capture and destruction of Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, by Colonel Bradstreet.

The army under General Forbes, destined for Fort Du Quesne, was not yet in motion when the two other campaigns closed.

The provincial troops for the expedition had been ordered to assemble at Winchester, Va., under Colonel Washington, and at Raystown, Bedford co., Pa., where Colonel Bouquet had marched the regular troops from Philadelphia in advance of General Forbes, who remained behind till the combined army would be in readiness to march. It was near the first of July, however, before Colonel Washington received orders to march his portion of the army to Fort Cumberland on Will's creek, where it was thought the general forces would unite. While waiting further orders here, he employed his men in making a road towards Raystown, thirty miles distant, and in repairing Braddock's road towards the Great Medows.

The ill-health of General Forbes detained him in Philadelphia, and fears began to be entertained that the season would be far advanced before the army could reach its destination. To add to these apprehensions, news reached Colonel Washington that General Forbes was in doubt as to the route he should pursue in crossing the mountains—whether he should follow the trail of Braddock, the only route that had been opened, or cut another more northerly, from Raystown, as the army proceeded.

Colonel Washington's opinion was solicited, which he gave in open terms of remonstrance, to the pursuance of any other route than that which had cost such immense labor to the troops of Braddock. He supposed it was doubtless the best route, independent of the consideration of a road already made. He assigned, as an argument, "that the Ohio company had formerly taken a great deal of pains, with the aid of traders and Indians, to ascertain the most practicable route to the western country; that the one from Will's creek had been selected as far preferable to any other; that a road had accordingly been made over, which General Braddock's army had passed; and that this road required but slight repairs to put it in good condition. Even if another route could be found, he thought the experiment a hazardous one at so advanced a stage in the season, as it would retard the operations, and, he feared, inevitably defeat the objects of the campaign, and defer the capture of Fort Du Quesne to another year."

Colonel Bouquet strenuously adhered to the project of a new route. His opinion unhesitatingly expressed to Forbes gave a bias to the general's views; and a persuasion from the error began to be despaired of by Washington.

In a letter to his old friend and associate in arms, Major Halket, lately allied to Forbes family, he wrote at this time:

"I am just returned," said he, "from a conference with Colonel Bouquet. I find him fixed, I think I may say unalterably fixed, to lead you a new way to the Ohio, through a road, every inch of which is to be cut at this advanced season, when we have scarce time left to tread the beaten track, universally confessed to be the best passage through the mountains.

“If Colonel Bouquet succeeds in this point with the General, all is lost—all is indeed lost—our enterprise will be ruined, and we shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter; but not to gather *laurels*, except of the kind that covers the mountains. The southern Indians will turn against us, and these colonies will be desolated by such an accession to the enemy’s strength. These must be the consequences of a miscarriage; and a miscarriage is the almost necessary consequence of an attempt to march the army by this new route. I have given my reasons at large to Colonel Bouquet. He desired that I would do so, that he might forward them to the General. Should this happen, you will be able to judge of their weight.

“I am uninfluenced by prejudice, having no hopes or fears but for the general good. Of this you may be assured, and that my sincere sentiments are spoken on this occasion.”

All remonstrances were to no effect. The new route was determined on, and Colonel Bouquet ordered forward with a portion of his men to clear the road.

Six weeks afterwards General Forbes reached Raystown, where the main body of the army still remained. It was already the middle of September, and the advanced party under Bouquet had made but forty-five miles, then at the Loyalhanna,\* where they were erecting a fort.

On the arrival of Forbes at Raystown, Colonel Washington was directed to march his troops from Cumberland and join him.

While the fort was erecting at the Loyalhanna, it was thought that it would not be imprudent to try to recon-

\* Changed from La-el-han-nec, the Indian name.

noiter the enemy's quarters till the main body of the army should come up. Fort Du Quesne was about fifty miles distant. Major Grant, of a highland regiment, was permitted to depart on the expedition, with thirty-seven officers and eight hundred and five privates,\* with instructions not to approach too close to the fort, that the risk of an attack might be incurred.

Though the French were apprised of the approach of General Forbes, and had spies out constantly to report the progress of their movements, yet Grant leaving the Loyalhanna on the 11th of September completely succeeded in stealing a march upon them. The third day after his departure he was within eleven miles of the fort. Resting till three o'clock, the troops again quietly pursued their way until within about two miles of the fort. Here it was concluded that the baggage should be left, and one captain, two subalterns, and fifty men, were accordingly left to guard it. It was already dark, and a suitable time to spy the fort. At eleven o'clock in the night the troops appeared on the brow of the fatal hill, still bearing the unfortunate commander's name, between the two rivers, about a quarter of a mile from the fort.

From the apparent stillness of the enemy's quarters, and meeting with neither French nor Indians on their march, Major Grant supposed that the forces in the fort must be comparatively small, and at once was determined on an attack. Two officers and fifty men were accordingly directed to approach the fort and fall

\* Conflicting accounts of Grant's detachment, both as respects the number of men and manner of attack and defence, are to be met with. Ours, which we deem reliance may be placed on, is taken from the Pennsylvania Gazette, of October 12th, 1758.

upon any French or Indians that might be lying out, if not too great in numbers.

The detachment softly approaching through the thick woods, found none within their reach to attack. So adroitly was their errand executed, they were not even challenged by the sentries. As they left they set fire to a cabin, but the fire was soon discovered and extinguished.

At the break of day Major Lewis was sent with two hundred men, principally Virginia volunteers and American regulars, back to the baggage, under the pretension of fears that the enemy would make a bold attempt to capture it. But the secret of it was—Grant, who was somewhat jealous of Lewis, wished to have the glory alone of capturing an enemy who had so signally repulsed Braddock with his thousands.

Four hundred men being posted on the hill, and others lower down upon it, ready to cover a retreat, it being about sunrise, the *reveille* was ordered to be beaten by a company placed in advance for the purpose. The sound of the drum appears to have been the first notice the French had of the vicinity of Grant.

The French and Indians roused from their sleep by the challenging music of an undiscovered foe, flew to their arms; and though, in the hurry of the moment, to sally out to the attack, a great degree of coolness and calculation is discovered in the mode in which they resolved to receive the disturbers of their slumbers.

Their whole force was immediately separated into three divisions. The first two were sent directly up under the covert of the banks of the two rivers, to surround the troops of Grant, and the third, detained a little while to let the others get in preparation, was then sent out

boldly as seemingly the whole strength of the fort, to give the enemy battle.

The advance company of Grant, under Captain McDonald, who were beating the challenge, were firmly met by the French and Indians, and immediately obliged to fall back against those posted on the side of the hill, when the attack became destructive and warm. At this moment while those on the hill were about to advance to support those yielding in front, they suddenly found themselves flanked on all sides by the detachments from the banks of the rivers. The struggle became desperate, but signally fatal to the Highlanders who stood exposed to the enemy's fire; while the provincial troops concealed themselves behind logs and trees and brush, and made a tolerable defence. But being overpowered with numbers, their surrender or retreat was inevitable. Major Grant hesitated not to expose himself to the most destructive fire of the enemy, in an endeavor to rally his men and encourage them to the most desperate struggle.

Major Lewis, fearful of an unfavorable issue of the conflict, hastened forward from the baggage, but soon found himself vigorously attacked, and likely to be flanked, and the consequence was, his men gave way and a route of the troops became general. He was wounded and taken prisoner.

Grant, hastening forward to the baggage, where fifty men under Captain Bullet remained, endeavored to collect and rally the retreating soldiers by begging them in the most pathetic manner, to stand by him. But his entreaties were in vain; the closely pursuing enemy was too nigh upon their heels. However, as they came up, Captain Bullet gave an obstinate resistance for a while. But his little band speedily falling under the

fire of the enemy, increasing in numbers, was soon obliged likewise to give way. The resistance shown by this little company served to check the pursuers and give an opportunity to many retreating to distance their enemies. Grant and Bullet were the last to desert the field. They were separated, and Grant afterwards taken prisoner.

It is stated that in the conflict two hundred and seventy-three were killed, and forty-two wounded, and several taken prisoners.

An amusing circumstance is told as occurring between Grant and Lewis a short time after they were prisoners in the fort, and much to the amusement of the French. "While he and Grant," says our informant, "were together at Fort Du Quesne, upon parole, a quarrel took place between them. Grant, in his despatches, had made Lewis the scape-goat, and thrown the whole blame of the defeat upon him; whereas, in truth, the only execution that was done, was effected by his Virginia troops. The despatches fell into the hands of some Indians, who brought them to the French commandant. Captain Lewis happened to be present when they were opened, and was quickly informed of their contents. Without uttering a word, he instantly went in search of Grant, reproached him with the falsehood, and putting his hand upon his sword, directed his former commander to draw and defend himself upon the spot. Grant contemptuously refused to comply, upon which Lewis lost all temper, cursed him for a liar and a coward, and in the presence of two French officers, *spat in his face!*"

There are no accounts of what the strength of the Indians and French were, or what their loss was, but it must have been comparatively small.

It was the first of November before General Forbes, with the main body of the army had arrived at the Loyalhanna. It was here determined, in a council of war, as impracticable to pursue the campaign any further until the ensuing spring. The weather had become cold, and the summits of the mountains were white with snow.

However, it had not been determined whether the winter should be passed in an encampment among the mountains, or the army should return to quarters in the settlements, when a circumstance occurred which changed the current of their intentions. Three men who had been sent out by the French to spy the movements of Forbes' army, were taken prisoners, from whom it was learned that the fort was but weakly garrisoned, and many of the Indians who had assembled to assist the French, had become wearied with delay, and had left.

A council of war being again convened, it was immediately resolved to leave all the heavy baggage, tents, etc., and with only a light train of artillery, push forward as speedily as possible. A spirit of cheerfulness and alacrity pervaded the troops, and the march was undertaken with renewed ardor. Washington, in advance, superintended the cutting of the road, while his provincials as axe-men and scouts, proved themselves highly useful.

After the defeat of Grant, it appears, a council was held by the Indians, in which they were much divided in opinion as to what should be their future movements. Many contended that it was no longer necessary to remain—that Forbes, like Dunbar in the retreat of Braddock's army, would turn back. They were numerous, comprising the warriors of most of the western

tribes adjacent to the lakes, especially of the Ottowas, Jibbewas, Pottowatomies and Wyandots; and on their aid almost alone, did the French rest their chances of success, in the event of an engagement with the approaching army. They were therefore importuned to await the issue of the campaign against them. But the Indians were already wearied with delay. They had marched thither, at the solicitation of the French, early in July, and had been loitering around the fort since that time.

The Indian council breaking up without any thing being unanimously resolved upon, a greater portion of them unwilling to remain any longer, as the hunting season had arrived, left for their homes.

Soon afterwards, it seems, word reached the fort that Forbes' army was advancing. The French, of themselves weak in numbers, and now deserted by most of those on whom they placed their principal reliance, found themselves placed in a critical juncture. They immediately, however, determined to place the event of their alarming situation on the hazard of a die. They concluded, as the only alternative from a precipitate retreat, to go boldly out and meet the approaching forces; and if happily by a well-timed attack, their last effort should be attended with success, the cast of fortune almost unexpectedly, would be in their favor.

Accordingly, joined by the Indians that remained, they sallied out to the attack. Forbes had not yet progressed far from the Loyalhanna when he was met by them, and being on the alert, his men were not to be taken by surprise.

The attack was commenced on a thickly-wooded plain, affording mutual advantages. The advanced companies of the army being principally provincial volunteers, and accustomed to the Indian mode of fight-

ing, by "treeing it," as it was called, but little was to be gained by an attack from a force so inferior in numbers, as that of their assailants.

The result was, all hopes of repulsion were soon abandoned by the French and Indians, and after harassing the troops by several unsuccessful attacks, they returned in despair to the fort.

The army progressed slowly. The weather was damp and chilly, and the rout, though cut as they proceeded, was extremely bad from the falling rain.

A number of friendly Indians, accompanying on pay, were constantly kept out as scouts. The importance of aids of this kind had been fully demonstrated in the campaign of Braddock, whose unparalleled disaster has been attributed alone to his contemptuous refusal to employ, or even permit, service of the kind.

When the army had arrived within about twelve miles of the fort, they were met by some of the Indians who had been reconnoitering in advance, with a report that the French had set fire to the fort. A dense cloud of smoke had been discovered ascending from the place and extending along the Allegheny bottom. Shortly afterwards, the arrival of other scouts, who had approached sufficiently near on the hills to see the place, gave certain intelligence that the fort was burnt and abandoned.

A troop of light horse was immediately sent forward, with instructions to the men, to extinguish the burnings as far as practicable. The residue of the army following as speedily as possible, arrived the same evening, the 25th of November, after a hurried march of five days from the fort on the Loyalhanna.

The abandoned Fort Du Quesne, with the cabins around it, was principally destroyed; and the blackened

chimneys, more than thirty in number, stood in desolate relief from the smouldering ruins.

Considerable quantities of ammunition, scalping-knives, Indian goods, etc., were found in one of the magazines that had been unreached by the fire. The precipitate retreat of the French had not permitted them to complete the entire destruction of the works; or fear of the explosion of the magazines had intimidated and kept them aloof.

Their cannon had been removed, but whether taken with them below—as many had descended in batteaus—or sunk in the river, is unknown.

“They seem to have been,” says Colonel Bouquet, in a letter written from the fort shortly afterwards, “about four hundred in number; part is gone down the Ohio; one hundred by land, supposed to Presq’ Isle, and two hundred with Governor M. De Lignery to Venango.”

The night after their abandonment of the fort, those that descended the river lay encamped at the mouth of Beaver, thirty miles below, as was afterwards reported by Indians, where the path to Venango and Presq’ Isle struck out through the forests. It is probable the whole force may have descended to this point before a separation took place, or they had yet resolved on where they should go.

A few days before they had left, a boy twelve years old, a prisoner at the fort, made his escape and reached the approaching army. He gave information that lately a quantity of dry wood had been brought into the fort, and five of the prisoners taken at Grant’s defeat had been burnt. When, as would seem, growing weary of the cruelty that the savages alone had been charged with, they delivered others to the Indians, who immediately tomahawked them.

On the arrival of the army, numbers of the bodies of those who fell at the fatal skirmish of Grant, lay strewn around over the memorable hill, scalped and mutilated. The rites of burial were performed by the soldiers; as were afterwards gathered the whitening bones of the many who fell on the bloody field of Braddock, and consigned to the earth.

During the little while the French occupied this stronghold in the disputed territory, an alarming extent of bloodshed and suffering had been allotted to their antagonists in this region.

Four years and eight months, loud with the terrors and cruelties of unsparing warfare, had passed since Ensign Ward, with a little party of forty-one men, had fled at the approach of the formidable motley-manned bateau and Indian canoe fleet of Contracœur, from his unfinished fortification, upon which was immediately erected Fort Du Quesne, and from the fire-scarred walls of which, now, after the lapse of that time, at last floated the proud colors of England.

## CHAPTER X.

Treaty with the Indians at the French fort—Description of Fort Du Quesne—Return of most of the troops east of the mountains—Name of the fort changed—Re-built by General Stanwix—Treaty with the Wyandots, Ottowas, &c.—Continued success of the British arms—Surrender of Canada—Pontiac—Preliminary articles of peace between France and England—Dissatisfaction of Canadian settlers—Enumeration of the western Indians.

During the night after the arrival of the army, a number of Indians, principally Delawares, collected on the island on the opposite side of the Allegheny, and the next morning gave intimation of their wishes to hold a treaty. Rafts of logs were made and their chiefs brought over, and a treaty of peace concluded. Goods were then advised to be forwarded from east of the mountains for distribution among them, that their friendship might be retained.

The condition and character of the fort is seen from a letter written the next day after Forbes' arrival. "There are two forts, about two hundred yards apart, the one built with immense labor, small, but a great deal of very strong works collected into very little room, and stands on the point of a narrow neck of land at the confluence of the two rivers. It is square, and has two ravelins, gabions at each corner, etc. The other fort stands on the bank of the Allegheny in form of a parallelogram, but not so strong as the other; several of the out-works are lately begun and still unfinished."\*

\* Hazard, vol. vi. 226.

A repair of the garrison was immediately commenced, and an additional picket-work made with a small ditch to serve for the coming winter.

Provisions being scarce and the quarters small, it was thought prudent, as no apprehensions were entertained that the French would return to make an attack before spring, to march the main body of the army back to the settlements, leaving only a sufficient number for the defence of the place till spring.

Two hundred and twenty men were accordingly left for the purpose, selected from the Virginia regiment; though at the disapprobation of their commander, Col. Washington, "who thought they had performed their full share of duty." But General Forbes had given the command, on the strength that he had "no authority to leave any of the king's forces for that purpose, and the place was then understood to be within the jurisdiction of Virginia."

The name of the place was now changed to Fort Pitt, in honor of the prime minister, under whose active management the affairs were beginning to prosper, and the present campaign had been proposed.

During the ensuing summer General Stanwix, who formerly had commanded at Carlisle in Pennsylvania, arrived, and early in the autumn of the same year commenced building a strong fortification immediately above and adjoining the French fort. This formidable work it was deemed at the time, would be as impregnable as calculated to "perpetuate British power" on the Ohio.

"The work was four-sided, though not all equal, as Washington erroneously stated in his journal in 1770.

"The earth around the proposed work was dug and thrown up, so as to inclose the selected position with a rampart of earth. On the two sides facing the country

this rampart was supported by what military men call a *revetment*—a brick-work nearly perpendicular, supporting the rampart on the outside, and thus presenting an obstacle to the enemy not easily overcome. On the other three sides the earth in the rampart had no support, and, of course, it presented a more inclined surface to the enemy—one which could be readily ascended. To remedy in some degree this defect in the work, a line of pickets was fixed on the outside of the foot of the slope of the rampart. Around the whole work was a wide ditch which was filled with water when the river was at a moderate stage.\*

From a letter† dated at the fort about this time, it appears that on the arrival of General Stanwix, the Otto-

\* Sketches of early settlements by Neville B. Craig, Esq.

† Extract of a letter, September 24, 1759, from The American Magazine printed at Woodbridge, New Jersey.

“It is now near a month since the army has been employed in erecting a most *formidable fortification*; such a one as will, *to latest posterity, secure the British empire on the Ohio*. There is no need to enumerate the abilities of the chief engineer, nor the spirit shown by the troops in executing the important task: the fort will soon be a lasting monument of both. Upon the general’s arrival about four hundred Indians, of different nations, came to confirm peace with the English; particularly the Ottowas and Wyandots who inhabit about Detroit. These confessed the errors they had been led into by the French; showed the deepest contrition for their past conduct; and promised not only to remain fast friends to the English, but assist us in distressing the common enemy, whenever we should call on them to do it. And all the nations that have been at variance with the English, said they would deliver up what prisoners they had in their hands, to the general, at a grand meeting that was to be held in about three weeks. As soon as the congress was ended the head of each nation presented the calumet of peace to the general, and showed every token of sincerity that could be expected, which their surrender of the prisoners will confirm.

“In this, as every thing that can secure the lasting peace and happiness of these colonies, the general is indefatigable.”

was, Wyandots and Indians from their neighborhood, in all to the number of four hundred, came to solicit a capitulation of peace. A grand treaty was accordingly agreed to be held in about three weeks, and the most friendly terms agreed upon for the future. The Indians not only promised to deliver up prisoners in their possession, but render assistance in the prosecution of the war against the French and their allies.

The success of the British arms during the year 1759, was as unparalleled as destructive to the French power in America.

All the campaigns destined against Canada, had been entirely successful. On approach of the formidable force of General Amhurst before Ticonderoga, it had been abandoned by the French. Crown Point was likewise given up, and the troops withdrawn. The battle of Niagara had been fought and won by General Prideaux; against whom the whole strength of Detroit, Venango, Le Bœuf, and Presq' Isle, had been brought; while, as to crown the whole, Quebec, "the Gibraltar of America," long deemed impregnable, was captured under General Wolf.

Total destruction now threatened the French power in North America. Niagara, the key to the West and South, was wrested from them; and the acquisition of Quebec, commanding the entrance of the country by the St. Lawrence, completed the victory, and insured the retainance of control over all their possessions in the north.

The almost entire strength of the French being collected at Montreal, their last hopes rested on a campaign to be set on foot from that place; but their successful enemy had not delayed long to meet them even there. A body of English troops appeared ear-

ly in the ensuing spring before that place, and a capitulation followed, and with it, the surrender of Detroit, Michilimacinac, Presq' Isle, Venango, and indeed all Canada.

The scene of contention between the two nations was now removed to the South, and a comparative quiet ensued. It only remained to obtain a general peace with the Indians, to effect, as was supposed, a tranquility on the frontiers, and throughout all the newly acquired possessions.

During the next year, 1760, the first detachment of English soldiers that ever penetrated the region of the upper lakes, was sent under the command of Major Rodgers, "for the purpose of taking formal possession."

It was during this expedition that the afterwards celebrated Pontiac, the Ottawa chief, first became known to the English. Although, as is supposed, he probably was the principal leader in the battle of Braddock, and is known to have been at several distinguished conflicts between the western Indians and the English, yet the brilliancy of his talents and the noise of his fame, had not yet properly reached them.

On hearing of the approach of Rodgers and his men up the lakes, he set out with his warriors to meet him; sending a messenger forward to inform them of his coming, he requested that they would halt till he met them. His wish was complied with, and Pontiac arrived.

"After the first salutation, he sternly demanded of the Englishman his business in his territory, and how he had dared to venture upon it without his permission."

The answer of Major Rodgers was, that he came to confirm peace with his nation, and open a friendly acquaintance for the mutual advantage of both, by

establishing trade. He closed his speech with presents of wampum to the chief. Pontiac received them with the single reply, "I shall stand in the path you are walking in till morning;" which gave Rodgers to know that he should proceed no further without the chief's permission, or at least until he should fully deliberate upon it.

From a long residence of the French among the Indians, and their willingness to adapt themselves to a great extent, to savage manners and customs, the latter had become much attached; and consequently no way reconciled to a change of government in the country.

Pontiac, however, after a short time, became reconciled, and gave permission for the troops to proceed, promising them his protection, as he informed them many tribes were extremely averse to the English coming into their country.

Major Rodgers was accordingly accompanied by the chief and his warriors to Detroit. He then sent messengers among the neighboring tribes to acquaint them with his determination to befriend the English, soliciting them likewise to embrace terms of friendship.

Soon afterwards a number of soldiers were sent to Fort Pitt for cattle, which were to be brought by way of Presq' Isle. For their protection Pontiac sent one hundred of his warriors.

The many offices of friendship that he now bestowed, and the willingness with which he supplied the wants of his new neighbors, as far as was in his power, make it a query why, without cause of aggravation, or by reason of injury, or any thing of the kind, he should, in less than three years, set on foot such a most hostile and alarming movement as he did, by originating the war that afterwards bore his name.

It is perhaps to be accounted for only on one principle—that of a mind like his foreseeing the disastrous results to his race from a contiguity of the whites, and in sincerely regretting the same, resolved with a master spirit and a master hand, to make a desperate effort for the destiny of his people. He doubtless for a time did feel himself attached to the British, though since doubted by some, and spoke in the sincerity of his heart when he first promised his friendship.

The continued success of the British arms threatening the entire conquest of the remaining colonial possessions of France, in America, was arrested towards the close of the year 1762, by preliminary articles of peace interchanged at Fontainbleau, between the respective ministers of the contending powers; and on the 10th of February of the following year, 1763, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris.

By this treaty France granted to Great Britain, Nova Scotia, Canada, and all her possessions in the west, east of the Mississippi river.

Such was the result of a dispute originating scarcely five years before, concerning the right of possession to the central region of the valley of the Ohio; in which France sustained the loss of all her possessions in the north, and principally all on the North American Continent, which she had been acquiring for more than a century and a half.

By certain stipulations, the French residing in the ceded territories in the west and Canada, were permitted to remain in full possession of their estates, with the privilege to dispose of them to British subjects. A free exercise of their religion was likewise granted.

But with all the proposed lenity, the murmured curses of the Canadian settlers were loud and unanimous

against the government for the abandonment of its claims to the country. For although the settlements had been plundered and laid waste by a ravaging army, and the last hopes of a patriotic people well nigh perished, yet, their lives as their patriotism was irrevocably pledged till the last for the protection of their adopted country--dearly sought in exchange for the green fields and sunny skies of their native land.

After the reduction of Canada, a comparative tranquility reigned along the border of the English settlements. The Indians no longer instigated to predatory incursions on the frontiers, but rather dictated to by the English, now in authority among their former advisers, whose forts and strongholds they occupied, was calculated to subdue that spirit of bloodshed and revenge which had been so fearfully awakened in their breasts. And now that articles of peace were signed between the originally belligerent parties, the moving cause of the most painful hostilities was removed, and hopes entertained for the most perfect and lasting quietude. But the calm so profound, only portended the heaviness of the approaching storm. While a feeling of security so universally reigned, secret causes were at work, foreboding results of the most fearful character.

The gradual approach of the settlements of the whites had been long closely and suspiciously marked by the Indians. Since the close of hostilities between the two contending powers of Europe, and the consequent remission of Indian depredations on the frontiers, the progress of the settlements had become accelerated, and the savages, as it were, awakened anew to a sense of their inevitable destiny.

These results being foreseen, the impending evil had

called into action statesman-like talents not inadequate to the emergency, and spirits into the field of contention not unworthy the cause.

The principal tribes occupying the Ohio and the vicinity of the Lakes, who had been leagued against and still opposed to the encroachments of the English, we will endeavor to enumerate in this place, that some knowledge of their strength as well as of their respective residences may be borne in mind, when they are spoken of in the subsequent pages.

The Six Nations, whom we have mentioned as the Five Nations, and afterwards as the Iroquois, still continued to reside to a considerable extent in the northern part of the State of New York. The Senecas, one of the nations, resided principally on the Allegheny and French creek. In 1712, the Tuscaroras, a tribe residing east of the mountains in Pennsylvania, had united themselves with the Five Nations, and, in consequence, the confederacy was afterwards known as the Six Nations.

The Mingos lived along the Ohio, principally in Western Virginia. Of the extent of their population we have no account, but it was doubtless small. The Delawares resided principally on the waters of Big Beaver and Muskingum, and some on the Ohio and Allegheny. They numbered about six hundred.

The Shawnees, mostly on the Sciota and Muskingum, numbered about three hundred.

The Chippewas dwelling near Mackinaw were about four hundred.

The Cognewagas, Wyandots, Twightees, and Miamis residing near the north-west end of Lake Erie, furnished an aggregate population of above one thousand. The Ottowas and Pottowatomies near Detroit

and Mackinaw were comprised of a mixed population, likewise, above one thousand.

Of the strength of the Jibbewas and other inferior tribes in this neighborhood we have no accounts.

Those nations dwelling on the head-waters of the Allegheny and Susquehanna and vicinity, who were also the enemies of the whites, comprising the Senecas, Cayugas, Sapoonees, and Munsies, numbered about fourteen hundred.

These were the principal nations occupying the region of the Ohio and vicinity, with their strength at this period; and although their numbers are comparatively small, we find they were capable of making a desperate struggle when their general energies were united and called into action.

## CHAPTER XI

Kiyasuta and Pontiac War—Early attack on Fort Pitt—Reason why—Forts fallen into the hands of the savages—Account of the attack on Michilimacinac—Siege of Detroit—Massacre of it meditated—March of troops to its relief—Defeat of Captain Dalyell near Detroit—Schooner attacked by Pontiac.

For boldness of attempt, and depth of design, the “Kiyasuta and Pontiac war,”\* as the Indian outbreak of 1763 was called, was perhaps unsurpassed in the annals of border warfare.

Schemed by chiefs renowned for their cunning and stratagem, as well as for their success in the execution of their designs, the numerous tribes lying within the reach of their influence, were easily commanded for the prosecution of any new project. Not only in possession of these grand facilities to engage numerous warriors for the present purpose, they availed themselves still of additional means to secure a powerful confederacy; which was by calling in aid their eloquence to represent the necessity there was for defence of their own rights, in making a deadly repulse against the encroachments of the English colonies; which they represented as having finally in view, the hostile displacement, or extermination of every western tribe from the region they now occupied. With such means to stimulate them to action, while the recompense of their services, by the acquisition of spoil and the more inviting reward—the renown of the warrior, were rela-

\* This was the name this war bore among the frontier inhabitants, and continued to bear among the settlers.

ted to them in the most seductive colors, it may not be wondered that the scheme of Kiyasuta and Pontiac was immediately approved of, and a zealous interest manifested.

Kiyasuta, who was chief of the Senecas, and friend and adviser of the Delawares and Shawnees, and most of the tribes on the banks of the Ohio, had, in consequence, all these bodies of Indians in readiness at any time for his purpose. While his coadjutor, Pontiac, chief of the Ottowas, no less extensively and favorably known, held complete control over all the tribes living along the lakes, in consequence of his residence in that region.

The grand scheme projected by these Napoleons of the western wilderness, seems to have been to rouse the tribes severally of the country, and all those they could reach by their eloquence, to join in striking a decisive blow on the frontiers, and as it were, throw terror into the very heart of the colonies, and thereby effectually and forever repulse them from encroachments into the valley of the west. A certain day was set apart it seems, for making the general assault, while the scheme was to be kept in profound silence, that they might come upon their victims in an unguarded hour. All the forts were to be simultaneously attacked as well as the settlements, and all individuals whom they could come upon, and with one bold sweep, as it were, raze to the earth every thing bearing the mark of their doomed enemies. The season of harvest was chosen, that the attention of the people might at the time be drawn to their crops, as well as the work of havoc then be greater by their destruction of them. When the attack was made it was found not to be simultaneous. That on Fort Pitt and vicinity, was made about two or three days before the time agreed upon

pleased at it, ' and threatened to send the next person who should bring a story of the same kind, a prisoner to Detroit.'

" The garrison, at this time, consisted of ninety men, besides subalterns and the commander-in-chief. There were also at the fort four English merchants. Little regard was paid to the assembling of sundry bands of Indians, as they appeared friendly; but when nearly four hundred of them were scattered up and down throughout the place, ' I took the liberty,' says Mr. Henry, ' of observing to Major Etherington, that, in my judgment, no confidence ought to be placed in them; in return, the major only rallied me on my timidity.'

" ' On the fourth of June, the king's birth day, the Indians began, as if to amuse themselves, to play at a favorite game of ball, which they called *baggatiway*, which is thus described by Mr. Henry:—' It is played with a bat and ball, the bat being about four feet in length, curved, and terminated in a sort of racket. Two posts are placed in the ground, at a considerable distance from each other, as a mile or more. Each party has its post, and the game consists in throwing the ball up to the post of the adversary. The ball, at the beginning, is placed in the middle of the course, and each party endeavors as well to throw the ball out of the direction of its own post, as into that of his adversary's. This farce drew many off their guard, and some of the garrison went out to witness the sport.'

" ' The game of *baggatiway*, (he continues,) as from the description above will have been perceived, is necessarily attended with much noise and violence. In the ardor of contest, the ball, as has been suggested, if it cannot be thrown to the goal desired, is struck in any direction by which it can be diverted from that designed

by the adversary. At such a moment, therefore, nothing could be less liable to excite premature alarm, than that the ball should be tossed over the pickets of the fort, nor that, having fallen there, it should be followed on the instant, by all engaged in the game, as well the one party as the other, all eager, all striving, all shouting, all in the unrestrained pursuit of an athletic exercise.' And this was their plan, while in the height of their game, to throw their balls within the pickets of the fort, and then all to rush in, and, in the midst of their hubbub, to murder the garrison; and it succeeded to their wishes. They struck the ball over the stockade, as if by accident, and repeated it several times, running in and out of the fort with all freedom, 'to make the deception more complete;' and then rushing in, in every direction, took possession of the place without the least resistance.

"They murdered the soldiers, until their numbers were so diminished, that they apprehended nothing from their resistance; many of whom were ransomed at Montreal afterwards, at a great price. Seventy were put to death, and the other twenty reserved for slaves. A few days after, a boat from Montreal, without knowing what had happened, came ashore with English passengers, who all fell into the hands of the Indians. Pontiac was not personally concerned in this affair, but it was a part of his design, and, therefore, is very properly here related. A chief named Menehwehna was the commander in that affair."\*

But against Detroit was arrayed the united force of all the tribes residing along the lakes, under the celebrated Pontiac in person.

"Carver's Travels, 19, 20. edit. 8vo. Lond. 1784." Drake's Book of the Indians.

"It was garrisoned by about three hundred men, and when Pontiac came with his warriors, although in great numbers, they were so intermixed with women and children, and brought so many commodities for trade, that no suspicion was excited, either in the mind of Major Gladwin, or the inhabitants. He encamped a little distance from the fort, and sent to the major to inform him that he was come to trade, and, preparatory thereto, wished to hold a talk with him for the purpose of "brightening the chain of peace" between the English and his people. No suspicion was yet entertained, and the major readily consented, and the next morning was fixed upon for the council.

"The same evening, a circumstance transpired which saved the garrison from a dreadful massacre. An Indian woman, who had made a pair of moccasins for Major Gladwin, out of a curious elk skin, brought them to him, and returned the remainder of the skin. Being much pleased with them, the major wished her to take the skin and make another pair, as he had concluded to give the others to a friend, and what was left to make into shoes for herself. She was then paid for her work, and dismissed. But when those whose duty it was to see that the fort was clear of strangers, and to close the gate for the night, went upon their duty, this woman was found loitering in the area, and, being asked what she wanted, made no reply. The major, being informed of her singular demeanor, directed her to be conducted into his presence, which being done, he asked her why she did not depart before the gates were shut. She replied, with some hesitation, that she did not wish to take away the skin, as he set so great a value upon it. This answer was delivered in such a manner, that the major was rather dissatisfied with it, and asked her

why she had not made the same objection on taking it in the first place. This rather confused her, and she said that if she took it away now, she never should be able to return it.

“It was now evident that she withheld something which she wished to communicate, but was restrained through fear. But on being assured by Major Gladwin that she should not be betrayed, but should be protected and rewarded, if the information was valuable, she said that the chiefs who were to meet him in council next day had contrived to murder him, and take the garrison, and put all the inhabitants to death. Each chief, she said, would come to the council, with so much cut off his gun, that he could conceal it under his blanket; that Pontiac was to give the signal, while delivering his speech, which was, when he should draw his peace-belt of wampum, and present it to the major in a certain manner; and that, while the council was sitting, as many of the warriors as could should assemble within the fort, armed in the same manner, under the pretence of trading with the garrison.

“Having got all the information necessary, the woman was discharged, and Major Gladwin had every precaution taken to put the garrison into the best possible state for defence. He imparted the discovery to his men, and instructed them how to act at the approaching council; at the same time sending to all the traders in different directions to be upon their guard.

“The next morning having arrived, every countenance wore a different aspect; the hour of the council was fast approaching, and the quick step and nervous exercise in every evolution of the soldiers were expressive of an approaching event, big with their destiny. It was heightened in the past night, when a cry

was heard in the Indian encampment different from what was usual on peace occasions. The garrison fires were extinguished, and every man repaired to his post. But the cry being heard no more, the remainder of the night was passed in silence.

“The appointed hour of ten o’clock arrived, and also as punctual arrived Pontiac and his thirty-six chiefs, followed by a train of warriors. When the stipulated number had entered the garrison, the gates were closed. The chiefs observed attentively the troops under arms, marching from place to place; two columns nearly inclosing the council-house, and both facing towards it. On Pontiac’s entering it, he demanded of Major Gladwin the cause of so much parade, and why his men were under arms; he said it was an odd manner of holding a council. The major told him it was only to exercise them. The Indians being seated upon the skins prepared for them, Pontiac commenced his speech, and when he came to the signal of presenting the belt, the governor and his attendants drawing their swords half out of their scabbards, and the soldiers clinching their guns with firmness, discovered to the chiefs, by their peculiar attitudes, that their plot was discovered. Pontiac, with all his bravery, turned pale, and every chief showed signs of astonishment. To avoid an open detection, the signal in passing the belt was not given, and Pontiac closed his speech, which contained many expressions of respect and affection to the English. But when Major Gladwin commenced his, he did not fail directly to reproach Pontiac with treachery; told him he could not do any thing to insnare the English, and that he knew his whole diabolical plan. Pontiac tried to excuse himself, and to make Major Gladwin believe that he laid no plot; upon which the major stepped to

the chief nearest himself, and, drawing aside his blanket, exposed his short gun, which completed their confusion.

“The governor, for such was Major Gladwin, ordered Pontiac to leave the fort immediately, for it would be with difficulty he could restrain his men from cutting him in pieces, should they know the circumstances. The governor was afterwards blamed for thus suffering them to withdraw, without retaining several of them as hostages for the quiet behavior of the rest; but he, having passed his word that they should come and go without hindrance or restraint, merited, perhaps, less censure for keeping it, and respecting his honor, than those who reproached him.

“A furious attack was the next day made upon the fort. Every stratagem was resorted to. At one time they filled a cart with combustibles, and run it against the pickets, to set them on fire. At another, they were about to set fire to the church, by shooting fiery arrows into it; but religious scruples averted the execution,—a French priest telling Pontiac that it would call down the anger of God upon him. They had frequently, during the siege, endeavored to cut down the pickets so as to make a breach. Major Gladwin ordered his men, at last, to cut on the inside at the same time, and assist them. This was done, and when a breach was made, there was a rush upon the outside towards the breach, and at the same instant, a brass four-pounder, which had been levelled for the purpose, was shot off, which made a dreadful slaughter among them. After this they merely blockaded the fort, and cut off its supplies, and the English were reduced to the greatest distress, and for some time subsisted upon half rations.”\*

\* Drake's Book of the Indians.

The news of the surrender of so many forts, and the continued depredations of the Indians on the settlements, struck terror into the heart of the colonies; fear and consternation seized the inhabitants everywhere, and the frontiers were precipitately evacuated.

General Amherst, commander in chief, immediately commenced making provisions for the distressing emergency of the country. But the oppressed condition of the army at this special period, from a long and tedious war with the French, but recently closed, and the consequently drained resources of the colonies left but little ability for properly meeting the exigencies of this new and unexpected commotion of hostilities. Therefore, till more efficient means could be taken, it was deemed advisable to send, with all practicable haste, succor to the beleaguered forts, the conditions of which it was feared might be much worse than reported; for but few vague unsatisfactory accounts had been received of them recently.

Accordingly Captain Dalyell was despatched by way of the province of New York with the supposed requisite number of troops for the relief of Detroit. The rout being chiefly by water, assistance could be furnished comparatively soon; and on that account measures for throwing relief into that quarter were deemed more important to be taken first. As Captain Dalyell passed up the Lakes, it was considered prudent to leave a small reinforcement at Fort Niagara, though somewhat to his discomfiture afterwards.

Proceeding to Detroit, he disembarked, July 27th, 1763, and two days afterwards fell into a rencounter with the Indians near the fort, in which he lost his life, with many of his men killed and wounded.

The particulars are—"Captain Dalyell, with two hun-

dred and forty-seven men, went out of the fort to surprise Pontiac in his camp; but the wary chief had runners out, who gave him timely notice, and he met them in an advantageous place, and, being vastly superior in numbers, and concealed behind a picket fence, near a bridge where the English were to pass, poured in upon them a dreadful fire. Many fell at the first onset, but they kept their order, and exerted themselves to regain the bridge they had just passed. They effected their purpose, but many fell in the attempt, among whom was Captain Dalyell. The famous Major Rogers, the second in command, and Lieutenant Brehm, with about two hundred others, recovered the fort. This bridge, where so many brave men were slain, is called to this day *Bloody Bridge*.

"Pontiac ordered the head of Captain Dalyell to be cut off and set upon a post. Between eighty and a hundred dead bodies were counted upon the bridge the next morning, which entirely blocked up its passage.

"About this time several small vessels fell into the hands of Pontiac, which were destined to supply the garrison, and the men were cruelly treated. The garrison was in great straits, both from the heavy loss of men, as well as from want of provisions and continual watching. In this time of despondency, there arrived near the fort a schooner, which brought them supplies of provisions, but nothing of this kind could be landed without Pontiac's knowledge, and he determined, if possible, to seize the schooner: a detachment made the attempt, and, to save herself, the vessel was obliged to tack short about, and proceed in an opposite direction. The Indians followed her in canoes, and, by continually firing into her, killed almost every man, and at length boarded her. As they were climbing up the sides and

shrouds in every quarter, the captain, having determined not to fall into their hands alive, ordered the gunner to set fire to the magazine, and blow all up together. This was heard by a Huron chief, who understood enough English to know what was going forward, and instantly communicated it to his followers. They disengaged themselves from the vessel as fast as possible, and fled from her in a great fright, at considerable distance. Meantime the crew took the advantage of a wind, and arrived safe at the fort. In the pursuit of the vessel, the Indians discovered extreme temerity, often coming so close to the schooner as to be severely burned by the discharge of her guns.

“This vessel had been sent from Niagara, and was manned with eighteen men, twelve of whom were Mohawk Indians. They arrived at Detroit on the 3d September; and thus was the garrison saved from certain destruction. So sensible was Major Gladwin and his officers of their escape from a dreadful fate by the bravery of the crew of this vessel, that they caused silver medals to be struck and presented to each, descriptive of the event.”\*

\* “Holmes’s Annals, ii. 122.” Drake, Book v.

## CHAPTER XII

Difficulty in raising troops for the relief of Fort Pitt—Colonel Bouquet despatched with a small force of the regular army—Incidents—Battle of Brush creek—Indians defeated and abandon the investment of Fort Pitt—Importance of the victory gained at Brush creek—Indian force at the battle and their loss—Fort Pitt during the siege—Close of the campaign.

During this time Fort Pitt remained in the most hazardous condition. And what may have been its situation already, apprehensions for the worst were entertained, for no accounts from it had been received of late; and, in fact, nothing definite since it had been attacked; when it had been surrounded by the Indians, and “all communication cut off from it even by message.”

Placed at so great a distance in the wilderness, and rendered still more inaccessible from the almost impassable mountains that intercepted the way, it could not be conveniently heard from; nor could assistance be rendered it without great expense of labor and time. And a considerable force being requisite for their own safety, to undertake a march so distant, some delay could not be avoided.

Endeavors in the province to raise men proving nearly abortive, although the legislature at the first outbreak of the savages had ordered seven hundred men to be raised for the protection of the frontiers during harvest, yet all attempts now seemed to little effect. The delay which had thus been occasioned increased the alarm for those at Fort Pitt; from whom no intelligence still was

had, while the audacity of depredating parties was increased, as they discovered the settlers fleeing before them, and no very apparent effort being made to check them.

All exertions proving fruitless to raise the requisite forces among the provinces, Colonel Bouquet was given the command of all the soldiers that could be spared from the regular army, and only about five hundred in number, principally "the shattered remnants of the 42d and 72d regiments lately returned in a dismal condition from the West Indies, and far from being recovered from their fatigues at the siege of Havanna."

Under these discouraging circumstances, Colonel Bouquet, with his little army, of indeed invalids, "reinforced with the last man that could be removed from the hospital," set out for a long and tedious march through the forests. Many of his men were so infirm that about sixty were conveyed in wagons, but these had been brought along more with a view of being left as reinforcements at the small posts by the way.

"Early orders had been given to prepare a convoy of provisions on the frontiers of Pennsylvania; but such was the universal terror and consternation of the inhabitants, that when Colonel Bouquet arrived at Carlisle, nothing had yet been done. A great number of the plantations had been plundered and burnt by the savages; many of the mills destroyed, and the full ripe crops stood waving in the fields, ready for the sickle, but the reapers were not to be found! The greatest part of Cumberland county, through which the army had to pass, was deserted, and the roads were covered with distressed families, flying from their settlements, and destitute of all the necessities of life. In the midst of this great confusion, the supplies necessary for the ex-

pedition, became very precarious, nor was it less difficult to procure horses and wagons for the use of the troops. The commander found, instead of expecting such supplies from a miserable people, he himself was called by the voice of humanity to bestow on them some share of his own provisions to relieve their present exigency. However, in eighteen days after his arrival at Carlisle, by the prudent and active measures which he pursued, joined to his knowledge of the country, and the diligence of those he employed, the requisite provisions and vehicles of conveyance were procured, and the army proceeded. Their march did not abate the fears of the inhabitants. They knew the strength and ferocity of the enemy. They remembered the former defeats of even the best conditioned troops, and were full of diffidence and apprehensions on beholding the small number and the sickly state of their regulars employed in this expedition. Without the least hopes, therefore, of success, they seemed only to wait for the fatal event, which they dreaded—to abandon all the country beyond the Susquehanna. In such despondency of mind, it is not surprising that though their whole was at stake and depended entirely upon the fate of this little army, none of them offered to assist in the defence of the country by joining their expedition; in which they would have been of infinite service, being in general well acquainted with the woods, and excellent marksmen."\*

Considerable anxiety had been felt for the safety of Fort Ligonier,† which stood on the site of the present town of Ligonier. It had been attacked by the savages, and fears were entertained of its falling into their

\* Colonel Bouquet's Journal.

† Same as Loyalhanna.

hands. There being a large quantity of military stores within it, it became a matter of great moment to keep it from falling into the hands of the Indians. Captain Curry, who commanded at Bedford, apprehensive of this, had sent twenty volunteers, good marks-men, early to its aid.

Colonel Bouquet learning the perilous situation of Fort Ligonier, after he left Carlisle, and fearful the savages might carry it, and perhaps be enabled, from the munitions of war that would fall into their hands, to make a more vigorous attack on Fort Pitt, and likely demolish it before he could reach it, determined to send a small detachment to its aid. A party of thirty men, therefore, was despatched with proper guides; who, with skillful and forced marches, succeeded in making their way through the woods, undiscovered by the enemy till they came within sight of the fort, where they were intercepted by the Indians, but by making a sally reached the fort, amidst some random shots, unhurt.

Fears had also been entertained at the outbreak for Fort Bedford; it was in a rather ruinous condition, and was but weakly garrisoned, although it had been strengthened by the two small intermediate posts at the crossings of the Juniata and Stony creek, which had been abandoned for that purpose. The families for twelve or fifteen miles around had collected themselves here for safety so soon as the alarm had reached them. And many had not yet reached the fort when they found themselves pursued by the merciless enemy; into whose hands eighteen fell; some of whom they scalped and killed, and the remainder carried off prisoners. Satisfied with this, they made no attack on the fort, happily for those within it, for the attempt might have proved successful to them, there being but

a few volunteers within to defend it, until two companies of light infantry, detached from the approaching army, had reached it.

Colonel Bouquet having secured these two forts, now made it an object, as he proceeded, to learn the motions and number of the enemy; but found it difficult to obtain the least intelligence. The Indians were to be seen in but small skulking parties, often lying in ambush for those that were sent out to spy their movements. And not even on the 25th of July, when the rear of the army had reached Fort Bedford, could any definite knowledge be had of the enemy. After a delay of three days here, still in the fruitless attempt to learn the objects and positions of the savages, by sending out scouts, it was determined to move on to Fort Ligonier. Great precautions were observed, for it was thought the Indians were watching the movements of the army, and would doubtless intercept it at some advantageous place. However, after some difficulty and toil among the mountains, the army arrived safe at Fort Ligonier. Here it was determined to leave the wagons and proceed only with pack-horses.

Nothing yet satisfactory could be gathered respecting the Indians, whom it had been supposed they would have met in some of the dangerous defiles of the mountains. Still with this uncertainty the army again continued their rout.

Before them lay the Turtle Creek hills, a deep and dangerous defile. Colonel Bouquet concluded to pass these during the night, by a forced march, as an advantageous position there might be chosen by the savages to way-lay the troops.

Approaching these hills the 5th of August, after a march of seventeen miles that day, and it yet early in

the afternoon, it was determined to halt at Brush creek, a short distance a-head, and there rest the troops till towards evening, and pass the Turtle creek defile during the night. But when within about a half a mile from the creek, the advanced guard of the army was suddenly surprised by an ambuscade of Indians, opening a brisk fire of musketry upon them. Being speedily and firmly supported by bringing up the rear, a charge of bayonets was ordered, which effectually routed the savages, when they were pursued a short distance. But no sooner was the pursuit given up, than they returned and renewed the attack with redoubled vigor; while at the same moment a most galling fire was opened by other parties who had been concealed on some high grounds that skirted the flanks of the army. A general charge with the whole line was now made, and though with some difficulty from ascending the precipitous banks, yet it proved effective, and the Indians were obliged to give way; but withal to no purpose; for no sooner was the pursuit again given up than the Indians renewed the attack with their wonted ferocity. Secretly collecting their forces at any point where most advantage could be taken, it was soon found that they were keeping up an invisible firing on all sides: and at length an attempt was made by them to cut off the baggage wagons and other equipments of the army, which had been left in the rear. To check them in this new rally the main body of the army was ordered thither; while the Indians falling in the rear, and acting in conjunction with those on the other side, pressed with unflinching courage upon the troops, and harassed them with a deadly aim. From this moment the action became general and severe on both sides. The Indians by their peculiar mode of fighting, that of

*treeing it*, in the parlance of the day, or skulking behind any object that would save them from their enemy's fire, gave them on this occasion a decided advantage over the British troops; who, though they resorted somewhat to the same, were yet nevertheless not so expert or efficient in the practice as their wily opponents. Thus continued the action without intermission the whole afternoon—a confused and irregular attack by the forces of both parties. The Indians routed from one skulking place would retreat to another. But Col. Bouquet made it an object as much as possible to keep his troops collected, that they might not be broken in upon and dispersed by the enemy.

The battle ended only with the day, without any decided advantage to either.

The wounded being collected were placed in the middle, with the baggage, etc., and the troops disposed in a circle around them. Thus arranged the army passed an anxious and sleepless night, being obliged to be constantly on the alert, with their arms in their hands, ready for any assault that it was thought possibly might be made. However no attack was made during the night, but with the first dawn of morning the war-whoop was raised, and in a moment there seemed a thousand startling yells to break in every direction around.

The signal thus given, a rush by the Indians was made on all sides, with the seeming determination to dash into the heart of the troops, and fell them severally to the earth with their knives and tomahawks. But the lines ready formed and not to be taken by surprise, effectually repulsed them in every attempt. Finally desisting, they again betook themselves to their favorite mode of battle—concealing themselves behind trees,

logs, or any object that offered protection, while they poured an incessant fire with great precision, into the body of the army.

The troops, fatigued with the previous days march, and the toils of the battle of the preceding evening, began now to be dispirited. If an attempt to rout the enemy was made, it effected nothing more than a dislodgement of them from one place for a retreat to another, while the necessity to remain near the baggage wagons obliged them to desist from pursuit to any distance, and on return were ever found to be pressed back by the savages with their wonted audacity.

But this was not the worst. A hot August sun was above them; and though partially shielded by the cover of the forests, yet it was sultry and no water was in their reach; and being surrounded by an invisible foe was most the while "besieged rather than engaged," and not able to lose sight of their wagons, and wounded for a moment, sufferings almost intolerable were experienced. Attacked with a dogged determination, and fired upon without intercession, they could neither retreat nor proceed.

It becoming obvious that a desperate effort must be made to save the army from total destruction, the commander happily bethought himself of a stratagem that might prove successful; which, as the troops were still disposed in a circle from the previous night, consisted in making a maneuver of the appearance of a precipitate retreat from one side, so as to entrap the assailants in pursuit, who would rush as thoughtless within the enclosure of lines, which lay in ambuscade.

The snare was set in direction of the enemy's deadliest fire, and most happily succeeded in bating them from their places of concealment. Before aware, they

were under a most destructive fire of the troops; and before they could retreat, they received so deadly a charge from the regulars, that they fled with the utmost precipitation. This secured the victory. The woods around were immediately abandoned by the others, and the conflict ceased.

This had been the whole Indian force from Fort Pitt, who, after lying around that place for three months, keeping up a vigorous siege, and being on the alert for a force to come against them from the settlements, early became apprised of the approach of Colonel Bouquet; and informed duly by their spies of the movement of the enemy, they determined, as was expected, to await them on the most advantageous ground; aware that if they succeeded in defeating the troops, the extent of country they had already gained sway over, by their sudden and bold movements, would not only be maintained, but a probability follow that they might strike controlment into the very heart of the settlements. It is, indeed, impossible to say what influence might have been exerted over the settlements of Pennsylvania in particular, had this little army been cut off. It is certain, possession of the country might not have been regained till the work of destruction had been completed west of the mountains. But so stunning were the results of this battle to the savages, dismay at once seized them and confidence was lost. Though looked upon as a small engagement, there doubtless hung upon it results nigh as important to the colonies as the issue of the more renowned battle on the plains of Abraham, when a Wolfe and a Montcalm met to decide the destinies of their respective nations.

The little battle of Brush creek was the means of disheartening the Indians and causing them to abandon

designs, which if they had continued to execute with the same vigor that had characterised them for a little more than three months since they had commenced the assault, might have effected much that would be fearful to relate.

In this engagement Colonel Bouquet lost about fifty men, and had sixty wounded; the savages about sixty of their best warriors, and many of their most distinguished chiefs. Their forces were made up with warriors from the Delaware, Shawnee, Mingo, Wyandot, Mohikan, Miami and Ottawa tribes; and doubtless the flower of their nations; for the importance of the issue of the first decisive engagement had most likely been well weighed by them, and therefore an effort made for the victory.

The army again pursued the route, and in four days reached Fort Pitt, with but little interruption except "a few scattering shots from a disheartened and flying enemy."

The Indians immediately withdrew and retired beyond the Ohio. Fort Pitt relieved, found its little group of inhabitants again breathing the open air, after a constant siege of more than three months.

Captain Ecyuer commanded here, and had been most vigilant in repelling the attacks of the savages. Aided by the inhabitants and surviving traders, that had fled thither for protection, he had early commenced repairing the works that had been injured by the floods. Knowing the importance of feeling secure, being placed so far from succour, the most prudent measures had been resorted to, to foil a foe from whom so little mercy could be expected. The Indians had early surrounded the fort and commenced a most vigorous attack upon it. And though they had no means of storming the

walls, "nor understood the method of a regular siege, yet with incredible boldness, they posted themselves beneath the banks of both rivers, by the walls of the fort, and there, as it were, continued buried from day to day, with astonishing patience, pouring in an incessant storm of masketry and fire arrows; hoping at length by famine, by fire, or by harrassing out the garrison, to carry their point. "\*

Here Colonel Bouquet was obliged to suspend operations against the enemy. The inability of the provinces to furnish men and supplies compelled him to abandon his intention of pursuing the Indians farther west. It was therefore concluded to distribute the soldiers and provisions among the different forts, and maintain the ground that had been recovered, till the requisite number of troops and supplies could be raised, for a successful prosecution of the campaign.

However, the signal victory gained over the Indians at Brush creek had so dismayed them, that they not only gave up all designs against Fort Pitt, but withdrew from the frontiers, "retreating beyond the Ohio, and abandoning all the country between Presq' Isle and Sandusky; not thinking themselves safe till they arrived at the Muskingum."

\* Colonel Bouquet's expedition.

## CHAPTER XIII

Comparative tranquillity after the battle of Brush creek—Indian depredations renewed—Colonel Bradstreet despatched up the Lakes—Bouquet's second campaign—Despatches from Bradstreet of an alledged treaty—Bouquet's arrival at Fort Pitt—Met by ten Indians—Indian messengers—Bouquet's march into Ohio—Logstown—Tuscarawas—Conference with the Indians.

So quiet were the savages now, the country indeed seemed again hushed into security, and it began to be thought doubtful whether they had not given up all intentions of further hostilities. Stricken with terror, as it were, they had retired farther into the forests than from whence they had sallied, which gave reason to believe that they had abandoned their warlike purposes; and the ensuing spring it would but be necessary to approach them to effect a treaty. But like beasts of prey that had become satiated, they had retired into the fastnesses of forests to slumber in quiet for a while, but to await another opportunity to leap forth with wonted terror upon their victims.

The succeeding autumn and winter, it is true, passed away with all the seeming quietness of abandoned hostilities. But during the while, preparations were but being made to renew the assault with redoubled violence. The savages were busily employed in furnishing themselves with supplies of ammunition and implements of war, which they obtained from the French. And it is to be doubted whether they were not instigated to a renewal of hostilities by the French, who

could not but realize a secret feeling of pleasure in seeing the repose of a nation disturbed, who had rivalled if not wronged them in the acquisition of territory in this region as well as elsewhere.

Thus in quietness passed away the time till the ensuing spring, when the Indians made another sudden and almost unexpected sally from their lurking places; and though they did not make any determined attacks upon the forts, all the horrors of their wonted barbarity were recommitted on the frontiers. Determined, as from vengeance, to exterminate every pale-face that unfortunately fell within their reach, desolation and blood consequently marked their trails wherever they entered the settlements. Alarm and suffering were again abroad among the inhabitants, and their fears as loudly awakened as ever. It was now resolved that a decisive blow must be struck, and the merciless depredators be awed into silence and subjection. It was therefore proposed by Gen. Gage to attack them at two different points, and "carry the war into the heart of their own country."

"With this view he despatched a corps of troops to proceed under Colonel Bradstreet, to act against the Wyandots, Ottowas, Chippewas, and other nations living on or near the Lakes; while another under the command of Colonel Bouquet should attack the Delawares, Shawness, Mingoes, Mohikans, and other nations between the Ohio and the Lakes. These two corps were to act in concert; and as that of Colonel Bradstreet would be ready much sooner than the other, he was to proceed to Detroit, Michilimackinac, and other places. On his return he was to encamp and remain at Sandusky, to awe, by that position, the numerous western tribes, so as to prevent them from sending any assistance to the Ohio Indians, while Colonel Bouquet should

execute his plan of attacking them in the heart of their settlements.”\*

Active measures were now taken to raise the requisite troops. “Part of the 42d and 60th regiments were ordered to this expedition, and were to be joined by two hundred friendly Indians, and the troops of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The Indians never came, and the Virginians plead inability to raise men, having in pay already about seven hundred militia for the defence of their own frontier. In Pennsylvania a bill for raising one thousand men was passed, May 30th; but with the utmost diligence that could be used, the number could not be completed till the beginning of August.”†

The army being assembled at Carlisle, Bouquet proceeded from Philadelphia (to which place he had returned during the winter) to take the command, accompanied by Governor (Jno.) Penn. The army being in readiness for motion by the 5th of August, Governor Penn acquainted the two Pennsylvania battalions with the “propriety there was in chastising the Indians for their repeated and unprovoked barbarities on the inhabitants of the province; a just resentment of which, added to a remembrance of the loyalty and courage of our provincial troops on former occasions, (he did not doubt) would animate them to do honor to their country; and that they could not but hope to be crowned with success, as they were to be united with the same regular troops, and under the same able command who had by themselves, on that very day, the memorable 5th of August in the preceding year, sustained the repeated attacks of the savages, and obtained a complete victory over them.” He also reminded them “of

\* Ibid.

† Ibid.

the exemplary punishments that would be inflicted on the grievous crime of desertion, if any one of them were capable of so far forgetting their solemn oath and duty to their king and country, as to be involved in it."\*

Some little time spent in preparation, and giving the officers strict charge respecting discipline, the army pursued their march, and by the 13th of the month reached Fort Loudon. But after all the precautions taken to prevent desertion, it was found not less than three hundred of the Pennsylvania troops were missing. Application was immediately made to the government for a re-filment of the original number, which was early granted by the governor and commissioners; but the men were never raised. And Colonel Bouquet apprehensive that it might prove so, made application likewise to the colony of Virginia on entering that province, when Governor Fauquier had the men raised, who joined Colonel Bouquet at Fort Pitt in the latter end of September.

While at Fort Loudon, Colonel Bouquet received despatches from Colonel Bradstreet, dated Presq' Isle, August 14th, informing him that a treaty with the Delawares and Shawnees had been effected by himself, and suggesting that it might not be necessary for him to prosecute his journey farther. But the continued ravages of the Indians on the frontiers, and no appearance of their abating, convinced Colonel Bouquet of the importance there was in prosecuting the orders received from General Gage, and forcing, if possible, the savages from the frontiers.

Shortly after Bouquet's arrival at Fort Pitt, ten Indians appeared on the opposite side of the Allegheny

\* Ibid.

river, signifying a wish to have "a talk." It was apprehended that it was a stratagem to learn the strength of the fort. They were requested to come over to the fort, but seemed unwilling. Three of the party, at length, with some reluctance, crossed over. But "giving no satisfactory reason for their visit, they were detained as spies, and their associates fled back to their towns."

On the 20th of September, one of the three Indians was sent by Colonel Bouquet after them with the following message:

"I have received an account from Colonel Bradstreet, that your nations had begged for peace, which he had consented to grant, upon assurance that you had recalled all your warriors from our frontiers; and in consequence thereof, I would not proceed against your towns, if I had not heard that, in open violation of your engagements, you have since murdered several of our people. As soon as the rest of the army joins me, which I expect immediately, I was therefore determined to have attacked you, as a people whose promises can no more be relied upon. But I will put it once more in your power to save yourselves and your families from total destruction, by giving us satisfaction for the hostilities against us. And, first, you are to leave the path open for my expresses from hence to Detroit; and as I am now to send two men with despatches to Colonel Bradstreet, who commands on the Lakes, I desire to know whether you will send two of your people with them to conduct them safe back with an answer? And if they receive any injury either going or coming, or if the letters are taken from them, I will immediately put the Indians now in my power to death, and will show no mercy in future to any of your nation that may fall

into my hands. I allow you ten days to have my letters delivered at Detroit, and ten days to bring back an answer."

Shortly afterwards two Indians, an Onondago and Oneida, came to Fort Pitt, and with many professions of ancient friendship for the English, endeavored to persuade Colonel Bouquet to abandon his design of marching against the Ohio Indians; representing it as a dangerous expedition, on account of the powerful and numerous tribes living in that region, which would be arrayed against him. At the same time assuring him, that if no hostile intentions were manifested by him, they would come and make peace with him, recommending all the while the dismissal of the two Indians detained in the fort. But these assurances being looked upon as a scheme to secure the delay of the troops till the lateness of the season would prevent them from proceeding, no reliance was placed upon them; and the answer returned was, that dependence no longer would be placed upon their promises, that he would forthwith proceed at any rate to Tuscarawas, and either meet them in battle, or have a treaty permanently ratified.

The decisive tone Colonel Bouquet assumed with these Indians was not short of determination. He saw the season rapidly advancing, and the utmost diligence was used for setting out on the march. The Virginia volunteers raised under the auspices of Governor Fauquier, to complete the Pennsylvania troops, having arrived, little remained for detention. Orders for the strictest discipline again were given, and the army was drawn up in order for marching on the 2d of October. A day or two previous two men had been shot for an attempt at desertion, with a view to awe those into subjection who were so inclined. It was found indeed

obligatory to resort thus to the only alternative of securing obedience, and preserving the number of troops already too small for the expedition. The whole army now ready to leave did not number, including the drivers and other attendants, more than fifteen hundred persons.

The commander expressing the reliance he placed upon the bravery of the troops, told them, "he did not doubt but this war would soon be ended, under God, to their own honor, and the future safety of the country, provided the men were strictly obedient to orders, and guarded against the surprises and sudden attacks of a treacherous enemy, who never dared to face British troops in an open field; that the distance of the enemies' towns, and the clearing roads to them, must necessarily require considerable time; that the troops in those deserts had no other supplies to expect than the ammunition and provisions they carried with them; and therefore the utmost care and frugality would be necessary in the use of them."

The novelty of this harangue as well as others of this period, has been the occasion of their insertion. Although Colonel Bouquet was doubtless a brave and good man, yet we cannot help but remark the coloring of John Bullism that accompanies his expressions, alike with all his associates in command.

On the 3d of October the army crossed the Allegheny opposite the fort, and proceeded on the way. But perhaps from the unavoidable delay occasioned by crossing the river, they only "marched about a mile and a half over a rich level country," and encamped for the night "on a strong piece of ground, pleasantly situated, with plenty of water and food for cattle." This may have been somewhere on that gentle swell of land lying

between Allegheny city and the village of Manchester. How different its appearance at that day! Shaded by the moss-grown forests, with here and there a sunny sward of "smooth unshaven green." The theatre of many a wild sport of the savage. The next morning the army "proceeding about two miles came to the Ohio at the beginning of the narrows, and from thence followed the course of the river, along a flat gravelly beech." The next day they passed through Logstown, "seventeen miles and a half and fifty-seven perches by the path from Fort Pitt."

"This place was noted," says Colonel Bouquet, "for many years, for the great trade carried on with the Indians, by the English and French, but its inhabitants, the Shawnees and Delawares, abandoned it in the year 1750. The lower town extended about sixty perches over a rich bottom to the foot of a low steep ridge, on the summit of which, near the declivity, stood the upper town, commanding a most agreeable prospect over the lower, and quite across the Ohio, which, by its majestic, easy current, added much to the beauty of the place."

It would appear this place was originally built by the Shawnees and Delawares, and after its abandonment by them at the period spoken of, became occupied by the Mingos.

The following day the army passing over a steep ridge crossed Big Beaver creek, "twenty perches wide, the ford stony and pretty deep. It runs through a rich vale," continues Bouquet, "with a pretty strong current, its banks high, the upland adjoining it very good, the timber tall and young.

"About a mile from its confluence with the Ohio stood formerly a large town on a steep bank, built by the

French of square logs, with stone chimneys, for some of the Shawnee, Delaware and Mingo tribes, who abandoned it in the year 1758, when the French deserted Fort Quesne. Near the fording of Beaver creek stood also several houses, which were deserted and destroyed by the Indians after their defeat at Brush creek, when they forsook all their settlements in this part of the country."

Mention is thus particularly made, to give an idea of the appearance of the country at that period.

Before the army had yet reached Beaver by two miles, they were joined by a person who had made his escape from the Indians. He had been taken about a week before by six Delawares near Fort Bedford. From him the troops learned that the Indians had fallen in with the army the day before, but kept aloof, awed by their numbers.

The third day after the army crossed Beaver, they came to where the path divided; that on the left hand leading to the Indian towns on the lower Muskingum. "In the forks of the path," continues the journal, "stand several trees painted by the Indians in a hieroglyphic manner, denoting the number of wars in which they had been engaged, and the particulars of their success in prisoners and scalps."

Arriving, October the 13th, at Tuscarawas, near the forks of the Muskingum, "a place," pronounced "exceedingly beautiful by situation, the lands rich in both sides of the river; the country on the northwest side being an entire level plain, upwards of five miles in circumference. From the ruined houses appearing here, the Indians who inhabited the place, and were then with the Delawares, were supposed to have had about one hundred and fifty warriors." While the army

remained here encamped, the two men who had been sent by Colonel Bouquet with despatches to Colonel Bradstreet at Detroit arrived, and reported "that within a few miles of this place they had been made prisoners by the Delawares, and carried to one of their towns sixteen miles hence, where they were kept, till the savages knowing of the arrival of the army here set them at liberty, ordering them to acquaint Colonel Bouquet that the head-men of the Delawares and Shawnees were coming to treat of peace with him."

The next day Bouquet proceeded two miles farther down the Muskingum, and encamped on a high bank. "The day following six Indians came to inform the army, that all their chiefs were assembled about eight miles distant, and were ready to treat of peace with him, which they were earnestly desirous of obtaining. He returned for answer, that he would meet them the next day in a bower at some distance from the camp. In the meantime he ordered a small stockade fort to be built to deposit provisions for the use of the troops on their return, and to lighten the convoy."

"As now several large bodies of Indians were within a few miles of the camp, whose former instances of treachery, although they now declared they came for peace, made it prudent to trust nothing to their pretensions, the strictest orders were observed to prevent surprise."

On the 17th October, Colonel Bouquet, attended by the Virginia volunteers, the light horse, and some of the regular troops, repaired to the bower that had been erected for the conference. Shortly after the troops had been so arranged as to appear to the best advantage the Indians arrived at a place appropriated for them. Of the Delawares two tribes were present, the Wolf

and the Turkey, numbering twenty warriors, with their respective chiefs Custaloga and Beaver. Of the Shawnees six warriors were present, with their deputy Keissinautchtha. Of the Senecas fifteen warriors and Kiyasuta, their chief; the same from whom this war had in part taken its name. Being seated, the chiefs commenced smoking the pipe of peace. Laying this aside they took from their pouches belts of wampum, for the purpose of holding in their hands while they spoke. The chiefs then severally addressed Colonel Bouquet, apologizing for their late treacherous hostilities by throwing the blame on the rashness of their young men and the nations living to the westward of them;" and closing with an expression of their wishes for a treaty of peace.

The two Delaware chiefs delivered eighteen white prisoners and eighty-three small sticks, representing the number of other prisoners still in their possession, which they promised to bring as soon as possible. None of the Shawnee kings appeared at the congress, and their deputy declined speaking until Colonel Bouquet had replied to the Delawares.

After they had concluded Colonel Bouquet promised to reply in a speech the next day, and the congress was dismissed.

However, on account of unfavorable weather, the meeting was not held until the 20th, when the commander replied to them by saying, "that their pretences to palliate the guilt, by throwing the blame on the western nations and the rashness of their young men, were weak and frivolous, as it was in the power of the English to have protected them from all these nations if they had solicited assistance; and that it was their duty to have chastised their young men when they

did wrong, and not to suffer themselves to be directed by them.”\*

He then referred to the many instances of their perfidy, by murdering the traders that had come among them at their request, and plundering their effects; “then attacking Fort Pitt, which had been built with their express consent,” etc. The commander also referred to their treacherous violation of the engagements they had lately entered into with Colonel Bradstreet, and contended that these were only “a small part of the numberless crimes and breaches of faith which they had been guilty of; and that their conduct had always been equally perfidious.”

“ You have,” said he, “ promised at every former treaty as you do now, that you would deliver up all your prisoners; and you have on that account as often received considerable presents, but have never complied with any engagement. I am now to tell you, therefore, that we will no longer be imposed upon by your promises. This army shall not leave your country till you have fully complied with every condition that is to precede my treaty with you. I have brought with me the relations of the people you have massacred or taken prisoners. They are impatient for revenge; and it is with great difficulty that I can protect you against their resentment, which is only restrained by the assurances given them, that no peace shall ever be concluded till you have given us full satisfaction. Your former allies the Ottowas, Chippewas, Wyandots and others, have made their peace with us. The Six Nations have joined us against you. We now surround

\* The frequent quotations that occur here are taken from Bouquet’s Journal,—being from so rare a work, will doubtless be more acceptable than anything else that might be substituted.

you, having possession of all the waters of the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Miamis and the Lakes. All the French living in those parts are now subjects to Great Britain, and dare no longer assist you. It is therefore in our power to extirpate you from being a people. But the English are a merciful and generous nation, averse to shed the blood even of their most cruel enemies; and if it was possible that you could convince us that you sincerely repent of your past perfidy, and that we could depend on your good behavior in future, you might yet hope for mercy and peace. If I find that you faithfully execute the following preliminary conditions, I will not treat you with the severity you deserve. I give you twelve days from this date to deliver into my hands at Wakatamaka all the prisoners in your possession, without any exception: Englishmen, Frenchmen, women and children; whether adopted in your tribes, married, or living amongst you, under any denomination and pretence whatever, together with all negroes. And you are to furnish said prisoners with clothing, provisions, and horses to carry them to Fort Pitt. When you have fully complied with these conditions, you shall then know on what terms you may obtain the peace you sue for."

This speech, it seems, had the desired effect on the minds of the Indians. The determined spirit in which it is said to have been delivered, the boldness of the army in penetrating into the very heart of their settlements, would appear to have awed them into a desire of peace. Kussmaulchtha, the Shawnee deputy, now, according to promise, replied in behalf of that nation, in a few sullen words of promise, that they would comply with the conditions entered into by the other nations.

Colonel Bouquet determining to proceed farther into

the country, as the presence of the army might awe the Indians into the fulfilment of their promises. Kiyasuta addressed the several Indians before they dispersed, "desiring them to be strong in complying with their engagements, that they might wipe away the reproach of the former breach of their faith, and convince their brothers, the English, that they could speak the truth;" adding, "that he would conduct the army to the place appointed for receiving the prisoners."

Shaking hands with the chiefs was declined by Col. Bouquet, at the close of the meeting, telling them by way of apology, as some dissatisfaction was expressed by them, "that the English never took their enemies by the hands before peace was finally concluded."

## CHAPTER XIV.

Army at Wakautamike—Arrival of Messengers—Letter from Colonel Bradstreet—Arrival of prisoners—Major Smallman—Conference with the Indians re-opened—Speech of Kiyasuta—Speech of Red Hawk—Meeting of prisoners—Romantic passion of a young Mingo—Army leaves for Fort Pitt—Escape of hostages—Shawnee speech—Close of the “Kiyasuta and Pontiac war.”

On the 22d of October, the army, according to agreement to receive the prisoners at Wakautamike, moved on for that place; but, three days after arriving at a place within a mile of the forks of the Muskingum, about thirty miles from where they had conferred with the Indians, they concluded to encamp and await the arrival of the prisoners; being here in the midst of their towns and settlements. “Four redoubts were built opposite to the four angles of the camp; the ground in front was cleared, a store-house erected for the provisions, and likewise a house to receive the Indians, for the purpose of treating of peace, when they should return.”

Two days after their arrival a messenger came from Custaloga to inform Colonel Bouquet that he was on his way with his prisoners. About the same time a messenger likewise arrived from Lower Shawnee town bringing the same intelligence.

But it being apprehended that the Shawnees might fail to comply with their promises, from the apparent reluctance manifested by them at the late “congress,” one of their own people was sent to inform them of the necessity there was “that they should be punctual as

to the time fixed;" likewise in performing other particulars of their engagements.

The following day the messenger returned, informing Colonel Bouquet, that when "he had proceeded as far as Wakautamike, the chief of that town undertook to proceed with the message himself, and desired him to return and acquaint the English that all his prisoners were ready, and he was going to the lower towns to hasten them."

"October 28th, Peter, the Caughnawaga chief, and twenty Indians of that nation, arrived from Sandusky with a letter from Colonel Bradstreet, in answer to the one which Colonel Bouquet had sent to him from Fort Pitt by the two Indians."

The substance of Colonel Bradstreet's letter was, "that he had settled nothing with the Shawnees and Delawares, nor received any prisoners from them. That he had acquainted all the Indian nations, as far as the Illinois, the bay, etc., with the instructions he had received from General Gage, respecting the peace he had lately made; that he had been on Sandusky lake and up the river as far as navigable for Indian canoes, for near a month; but that he found it impossible to stay longer in these parts; absolute necessity obliging him to turn off the way, etc."

Had not the attention of the different Ohio tribes been directed to Colonel Bouquet as well as a treaty been well nigh concluded by them, it is not easy to say what might have been the consequences attending the withdrawal of Bradstreet's troops; whose presence doubtless had had a most salutary effect in awing and holding the Indians in subjection.

Some time was spent in sending and receiving messages from the surrounding Indian towns, and in re-

ceiving prisoners that were daily arriving. While the chiefs, importunate for a ratification of peace, were as often denied by Colonel Bouquet, who still repeated that he could not extend his hand to them while a single captive remained undelivered.

When the 9th November had come, most of the prisoners that could be expected that season were arrived. The number already brought in was two hundred and six;\* but about one hundred were still in the hands of the Shawnees, which they promised to deliver the ensuing spring.

Major Smallman, formerly of the Pennsylvania troops, and taken by the Wyandots during the past summer, and delivered to the Shawnees, was among those brought in. He informed Bouquet "that the reason that the Shawnees did not bring the remainder of the prisoners was, that many of their principal men, to whom they belonged, were gone to trade with the French, and would not return for six weeks, but that every one of their nation who were at home had either brought or sent theirs."

This gentleman likewise gave some startling accounts of the intentions of the Shawnees towards their prisoners on the approach of the army into their country. It had been reported that troops were coming with an intention to destroy them all; upon which they had resolved to kill all their prisoners and give battle. In consequence of which, a French trader who was

* " Virginians—men, . . . . .	32
women and children, . . . . .	58
Pennsylvanians—men, . . . . .	49
women and children, . . . . .	67
— 206 "	

among them had presented them with a quantity of powder and ball. But happily just at the moment the Shawnees were preparing to execute their design, a messenger arrived from Bouquet informing them of his errand to make peace with them, in consequence of which they desisted from their cruel purpose.

Colonel Bouquet, November 9th, now, with most of the officers, assembled in "the conference-house" to transact their business with the Indians. A treaty with the Delawares and Senecas was first opened. Custaloga with twenty warriors represented the former, and Kiyasuta and ten warriors the latter.

Kiyasuta rose with the wampum in his hand, and spoke as follows:

"With this string of wampum we wipe the tears from your eyes—we deliver you these three prisoners, which are the last of your flesh and blood that remained among the Senecas and Custaloga's tribe of the Delawares. We gather together and bury with this belt all the bones of the people that have been killed during this unhappy war, which the evil spirit has occasioned amongst us. We cover the bones that have been buried, that they may never more be remembered. We again cover their place with leaves, that it may be no more seen. As we have been long astray, and the path between you and us stopped, we extend this belt that it again may be cleared, and we may travel in peace to see our brethren as our ancestors formerly did. While you hold it safe by one end and we by the other, we shall always be able to discover anything that may disturb our friendship."

Colonel Bouquet replied—

"I have heard you with pleasure; I receive these three last prisoners you have to deliver, and join you

in burying the bones of those who have fallen in war, so that their place may be known no more. The peace you ask for, you now shall have. The king, my master and your father, has appointed me only to make war; but he has other servants who are employed in the work of peace. Sir William Johnson is employed for that purpose; to him you are to apply; but before I give you leave to go, two things are to be settled; namely, as peace cannot be finally concluded here, you will deliver me two hostages for the Senecas and two for the Custaloga's tribe, to remain in our hands at Fort Pitt, as a security that you will commit no further hostilities or violence against any of his majesty's subjects; and when the peace is concluded these hostages shall be delivered safe back to you. The deputies you are to send to Sir William Johnson must be fully empowered to treat for your tribes, and you shall engage to abide by whatever they stipulate. In the treaty every thing concerning trade and other matters will be settled by Sir William, to render the peace everlasting; and the deputies you are to send him, as well as the hostages to be delivered to me, are to be named, and to be presented to me for my approbation."

Bouquet, after promising to set at liberty the two Indians he had detained at Fort Pitt, (Captain Pipe and Captain John,) the chiefs were taken by the hand for the first time, which delighted them much.

On the next day the Turkey and Turtle tribes of the Delawares were treated with. Beaver, the chief, and thirty warriors, represented the former; and Kelappama, brother to their chief, represented the latter. The Senecas and Custaloga's tribe of the Delawares were also present. Their speeches were much in the character with those given before, as were those in reply

also, except that the commander insisted on their giving up an Englishman who had murdered one of his neighbors on the frontier, and brought the scalp to them; and some definite conditions on which they should deliver up the other prisoners remaining in their hands.

On the 12th November a treaty with the Shawnees was opened. A sullen disposition, approaching to manifest reluctance, had been and still was apparent with this nation, and although some difficulty had been anticipated in an adjustment of difficulties with them, they acquiesced in the arrangements made by the other nations, whom they seemed to look up to for advice in most of their transactions.

Red Hawk was their principal speaker. We select a portion from it.

“Brother, you will listen to us, your younger brothers; and as we discover something in your eyes that looks dissatisfaction with us, we now wipe away every thing bad between us, that you may clearly see. You have heard many bad stories of us. We clear your ears that you may hear. We remove every thing bad from your heart, that it may be like the heart of your ancestors, when they thought of nothing but good. (Here he gave the string.)

“Brother, when we saw you coming this road you advanced towards us with a tomahawk in your hand; but we, your younger brothers, take it out of your hands and throw it up to the Great Spirit\* to dispose of as he pleases; by which means we hope never to see it more. And now, brother, we beg leave that you,

\* “Their usual figure for making peace is burying the hatchet; but as such hatchets may be dug up again, perhaps he thought this new expression a much stronger emblem of the permanency and steadfastness of the peace now to be made.”

who are a warrior, will take hold of this chain (giving a string) of friendship and receive it from us, who are also warriors, and let us think no more of war, in pity to our old men, women and children."

Red Hawk, too haughty to admit that they would be unable to prosecute a successful war against the English, at this part of his speech would attribute the reason they had for making peace, to a pity for their "old men, women and children."

He then produced a copy of a treaty held by his nation (1701) with the government of Pennsylvania, and concluded.

"Now, brother, I beg we who are warriors may forget our disputes and renew the friendship, which appears by these papers to have subsisted between our fathers."

The remaining prisoners were promised to be brought to Fort Pitt the ensuing spring, and hostages were taken as security.

The treaty now effected, the prisoners were brought into the camp. Then occurred a scene of the most thrilling interest; "where were to be seen fathers and mothers recognizing and clasping their once lost babes; husbands hanging round the necks of their newly recovered wives; sisters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after long separation, scarce able to speak the same language, or for some time to be sure that they were the children of the same parents. In all these interviews joy and rapture inexpressibly were seen, while feelings of a very different nature were painted in the looks of others—flying from place to place in eager inquiries after relations not found—trembling to receive an answer to their questions—distracted with doubts, hopes and fears, on obtaining no ac-

count of those they sought for, or stiffened into living monuments of horror and wo, on learning their unhappy fate."

"The Indians too," adds Colonel Bouquet, "as if wholly forgetting their usual savageness, bore a capital part in heightening this most affecting scene. They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance; shed torrents of tears over them, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. Their regard to them continued all the time they remained in camp. They visited them from day to day; and brought them what corn, skins, horses and other matters they had bestowed on them while in their families, accompanied with other presents, and all the marks of the most sincere and tender affection. Nay, they did not stop here, but when the army marched some of the Indians solicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives all the way to Fort Pitt, and employed themselves in hunting and bringing provisions for them on the road. A young Mingo carried this still farther, and gave an instance of love which would make a figure even in romance. A young woman of Virginia was among the captives, to whom he had formed so strong an attachment as to call her his wife. Against all the remonstrances of the imminent danger to which he exposed himself by approaching the frontiers, he persisted in following her, at the risk of being killed by the surviving relations of many unfortunate persons who had been captured or scalped by those of his nation.

"Among the captives brought into the camp at Muskingum was a woman with a babe about three months old at her breast. One of the Virginia volunteers soon knew her to be his wife, who had been taken by the

Indians about six months before. She was immediately delivered to her over-joyed husband. He flew with her to his tent, and clothed her and his child with proper apparel. But their joy, after the first transports, was soon damped by the reflection that another dear child of about two years old, captured with the mother, and separated from her, was missing still, although many children had been brought in. A few days afterwards a number of other prisoners were brought to the camp, among whom were several other children. The woman was sent for, and one supposed to be hers was produced to her. At first sight she was uncertain, but viewing the child with greater earnestness she soon recollected its features; and was so overcome with joy, that literally forgetting her sucking child she dropped it from her arms, and catching up the new found one in ecstacy, pressing it to her breast and bursting into tears, carried it off, unable to speak for joy. The father seizing up the babe she had let fall, followed her in no less transport and affection.

“ Among the children who had been carried off young and had lived long with the Indians, it is not to be expected that any marks of joy would appear on being restored to their parents or relatives. Having been accustomed to look upon the Indians as the only connexions they had, having been tenderly treated by them, and speaking their language, it is no wonder they considered their new state in the light of captivity, and parted from the savages in tears. But it must not be denied that there were even some grown persons who showed an unwillingness to return. The Shawnees were obliged to bind several of their prisoners and force them along to the camp; and some women who had been delivered up afterwards found means to escape

and run back to the Indian towns, some who could not make their escape clung to their savage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance."

Business now being closed with the Indians, the army decamped on 18th November and took up the line of march for Fort Pitt, where they arrived in ten days.

A few days afterwards Colonel Bouquet proceeded to Philadelphia, and from thence returned to England. He had served as "commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in the southern department of America."

Before reaching Fort Pitt the Indians that had been brought along as hostages made their escape. This gave new cause for doubts and fears that the Shawnees would not redeem their promises. But when the 9th of May in the ensuing spring had arrived, ten chiefs and about fifty warriors of the Shawnee nation appeared in fulfilment of their promises, accompanied by a large body of Delaware, Seneca, Sandusky and Munsy Indians. They had with them all the prisoners but a few, whom they said were absent with their hunting parties at the time they left—such probably as altogether preferred a savage life.

Unusual as had been with the Shawnees an expression of entire satisfaction at the treaty of peace, their tone was now completely changed, and they seemed indeed rejoiced in perfectly brightening "the chain of friendship;," Geo. Groghan, Esq., "deputy agent" to Sir William Johnson, had attended to ratify the treaty with them.

So remarkable was the altered tone they now assumed, we are induced to make some extracts from the words of their speaker to exhibit it, as well as for their preservation. It being the closing speech, and the only

one we have inserted, in part, of this nation. Lawaughqua, a Shawnee, spoke—

“ Fathers, for so we will call you hence forward, listen to what we are going to say to you. It gave us great pleasure yesterday to be called the children of the great King of England; and convinces us your intentions towards us are upright, as we know a father will be tender of his children; and they are more ready to obey him than a brother. Therefore we hope our father will take better care of his children than has heretofore been done. You put us in mind of our promise to Colonel Bouquet, which was to bring your flesh and blood to be delivered at this place. Father, you have not spoken in vain. You see we have brought them with us, except a few that were out with our hunting parties, which will be brought here as soon as they return. They have been all united to us by adoption; and although we now deliver them up to you, we will always look upon them as our relations whenever the Great Spirit is pleased that we may visit them. Father, we have taken as much care of them as if they were our own flesh and blood. They are now become unacquainted with your customs and manners; and, therefore, we may request you use them tenderly and kindly, which will induce them to live contentedly with you. Here is a belt with the figure of our father the King of Great Britain at one end and the chief of our nation at the other. It represents them holding the chain of friendship; and we hope neither side will slip their hands from it so long as the sun and moon give light.”

Thus closed the memorable “ Kiyasuta and Pontiac war”—one of but a few months duration, nevertheless productive of more distracting inquietude and serious injury to the Anglo frontiers than had been experienced

through years of hostilities at any previous or subsequent time.

A comparative calm, it will be seen, now ensues for several years. The next outbreak is immediately prior to the Revolution, which extends to a fearful duration consequent upon that rupture between the colonies and the parent government. But the interim of peace now occurring will occupy our attention for a time. It was during this period that the Anglo-settlement of the west was permanently commenced; and, therefore, but now that the reader is properly introduced to the interesting history of the Western Pioneer.

## CHAPTER X V.

Earliest Anglo-settlements in the west—Frazier's settlement on the Monongahela—Gist's—Tygart's—Files'—Eckarly's—Red Stone fort—Decker's settlement surprised by a party of Indians—Captain Gibson and Kiscephila, a Mingo chief—“Sandy creek voyage”—Other settlements and depredations of the Indians.

Although the Backwoods up to near this date had been in possession of the French, and over-run by the more hostile savages, yet did a few brave spirits from the English colonies venture, in defiance of these discouragements, to penetrate the forests west of the mountains and rear their solitary cabins in the remote wilderness.

A few instances of such daring, when even the shout of battle was the loudest, are known. However we will return to the earliest period that the English settlements on the branches of the Ohio had been made, and endeavor to trace their progress up to the date of which we at present write.

Somewhat earlier than 1753, Frazier, an Indian trader, commenced a settlement at the mouth of Turtle creek, on the Monongahela. His object, however, was rather to hold traffic with the Indians than the cultivation of the soil.

When a rupture took place between the French and English arms, he was prompt to render his countrymen assistance; and had been appointed to a lieutenancy in Captain Trent's company, who had marched in advance of the first troops destined for the Ohio, to hasten the

erection of the fort at the mouth of the Monongahela. When this little band of forty-one men was obliged to abandon their half-finished fortification and retreat at the dictation of the formidable Contraceur, Frazier doubtless accompanied them, as no mention of his subsequent residence there is made. The place of his settlement became doubly memorable. The waters of the spring that gushed from the side of his cabin flowed through one of the ravines that afterwards bounded the fatal field of Braddock.

In 1753, Mr. Gist, of whom we have already spoken as exploring the country along the Ohio the two years previous, commenced a settlement "in the valley between the east ridge of the Alleghenies and the Monongahela." It was near where Uniontown now stands, the seat of justice for Fayette county, Pa.

The next year, 1754, a person by name of David Tyggart reached a beautiful valley on an upper branch of the Monongahela and commenced a settlement. The region is still known as "Tygart's valley."

Shortly afterwards another settler by name of Files arrived and built his cabin on the same stream near the site of Beverly, county seat of Randolph. Remote in the depths of the almost unknown forests the two families for a time anticipated a residence of comparative security, but the calm wave of their hopes was soon to be ruffled. In an unsuspecting hour the relentless savages came upon them. The family of Files was first surprised and all killed but one, who making his escape fled to Tygart's; that family by his timely warning with him was enabled to make a retreat to the older settlements. After some years they returned and continued their settlement.

Shortly after this discouraging occurrence another

yet more startling took place. These were the opening scenes of a long and distressing drama in the Backwoods; and among the first depredations committed on the English by Indians west of the mountains. The circumstance alluded to was instanced in three settlers, brothers, by name of Eckarlys, coming into this region.

“These men, Dunkards by profession, left the eastern and cultivated parts of Pennsylvania, and plunged into the depths of the western wilderness. Their first permanent camp was on a creek flowing into the Monongahela river, in the southwestern part of Pennsylvania, to which stream they gave the name of Dunkard creek, which it still bears. These men of peace employed themselves in exploring the country in every direction, in which one vast, silent and uncultivated waste spread around them. From Dunkard’s creek these men removed to Dunkard’s bottom, on Cheat river, which they made their permanent residence, and, with a savage war raging at no considerable distance, they spent some years unmolested; indeed, it is probable, unseen.

“In order to obtain some supplies of salt, ammunition, and clothing, Dr. Thomas Eckarly recrossed the mountains with some peltry. On his return from Winchester to rejoin his brothers, he stopped on the south branch of the Potomac, at Fort Pleasant, and roused the curiosity of the inhabitants by relating his adventures, removals, and present residence. His avowed pacific religious principles, as pacific religious principles have every where else done, exposed him to suspicion, and he was detained as a confederate of the Indians, and as a spy come to examine the frontier and its defences. In vain did Dr. Eckarly assert his innocence of any connection with the Indians, and that, on the

contrary, neither he nor his brothers had ever seen an Indian since their residence west of the mountains. He could not obtain his liberty until, by his own suggestion, he was escorted by a guard of armed men, who were to reconduct him a prisoner to Fort Pleasant, in case of any confirmation of the charges against him.

“These arbitrary proceedings, though in themselves very unjust, it is probable, saved the life of Dr. Eckarly, and his innocence was made manifest in a most shocking manner. Approaching the cabin where he had left and anxiously hoped to find his brothers, himself and his guard were presented with a heap of ashes. In the yard lay the mangled and putrid remains of the two brothers, and, as if to add to the horrors of the scene, beside the corpses lay the hoops on which their scalps had been dried. Dr. Eckarly and the now sympathising men buried the remains, and not a prisoner, but a forlorn and desolate man, he returned to the South Branch.”

The few who probably might have followed the footsteps of these daring but unfortunate settlers into the wilds, west of the mountains, it would seem were now totally discouraged. But an event shortly afterwards took place which was calculated to renew their intentions to brave the hardships and perils of a settlement in the forest. This was the erection of the Red Stone fort on the Monongahela.

Although the French had still unlimited control over the country west of the mountains, a bold push was here made to gain a foot-hold within the disputed limits.

A small company, pursuing the melancholy trail of Braddock, reached a point on the Monongahela at the mouth of a tributary, which was afterwards called Dunlop's creek. On the lower side of the creek on the

bank of the river they erected the fortification, and called it Red Stone Fort.

The beautiful town of Brownsville now occupies the site of this fort; while Bridgeport, another handsome village, stands on the opposite side of the creek.

The erection of this fort gave new encouragement to settlers; and soon amid the fertile vallies, along the tributaries of the river, were several primitive settlements to be seen.

“Decker’s settlement was made on Decker’s creek, a confluent of the Monongahela, in 1758, under the direction of Thomas Decker, but was in the ensuing spring surprised by a savage party, and most of the inhabitants murdered. One of the men composing Decker’s settlement escaped, and reached Red Stone fort, then commanded by Captain Paul, who, being too weak to spare men to pursue the Indians, despatched an express to Fort Pitt.

“In the mean time, the murderers of the people of Decker’s settlement had escaped, though Captain Gibson, the commander at Fort Pitt, marched promptly across the country, with thirty men, if possible, to get in their front. But, if Gibson failed to come up with or intercept those he was in pursuit of, very-unexpectedly to both parties, he fell in with Kiskephila, (Little Eagle,) a Mingo chief, and six or seven more warriors. The meeting took place on Indian Cross creek, near the present fine town of Steubenville. Captain Gibson, early in the morning, and while some of the Indians had not risen, came suddenly on the party. Kiskephila, who was the first to spy Gibson, raised the war-whoop, and discharged his rifle. The ball cut Gibson’s hunting-shirt, and wounded a soldier; but, drawing his cutlass, the Captain rushed forward, and, by a gigantic swing,

severed the head from the body of Kiskephila; two other Indians fell, and the others escaped.

"The act of cutting off the head of the Mingo chief, by the sword and arm of Captain Gibson, was productive of some melancholy and some curious effects. At the final restoration of prisoners, after the treaty of 1763, some white persons who were in the Mingo villages when the remnant of Kiskephila's party returned, stated that these warriors reported that their chief was killed with a "*big knife*." A death dance was then performed, at which several white persons were doomed to death, to revenge the dead chief. Amid their horrid orgies, bitter and bloody were their threats of vengeance against '*big knife warriors*.'

"The settlements on the Upper Roanoke, where Salem, in Bottetourt county, Va., now stands, had been surprised in 1757, and the inhabitants mostly murdered. A fort had been established on Jackson's river, a branch of James river, by order of Governor Dinwiddie, and known by his name. As soon as the massacre on the Roanoke was made known to him, Dinwiddie ordered a detachment of regulars from the fort on Jackson's river to join several militia detachments from the counties along the frontier, and the whole to form an army under the command of Andrew Lewis. The plans of Governor Dinwiddie evinced a knowledge of the Indian character, of their country, and the intermediate country between their villages and the white frontier settlements of Virginia and North Carolina, which must have been acquired by placing confidence and receiving advice from intelligent men of those colonies, and who had, on their part, obtained such knowledge by experience. The policy of Governor Dinwiddie and his counsellors was, to form a strong line of forts along the

Ohio; and, had this wise and humane system been adopted and pursued, what streams of blood and tears would have been stayed.

“ In the instance before us, the army under General Andrew Lewis was formed and marched to attain two objects: First, to chastise the Indians; but, secondly, to effect a far more important purpose—that was, to establish a military post at, or near, the mouth of the Big Sandy. With much delay, from various obstacles, the season was far advanced before this little army reached a point on Sandy river, within a few miles above its entrance into the Ohio. What would have been the final result of the expedition, had it been permitted to advance, can never be known; as, at this critical epoch, Francis Fauquier succeeded Dinwiddie in the government of Virginia, and marked the commencement of his administration by ordering back the regular troops to Fort Dinwiddie, and the militia to return to their homes.

“ This was one of the innumerable vexatious and capricious measures of the British Colonial officers, which in an especial manner irritated the frontier, and, in war, far most formidable portion of the population. Had the Viceroy Fauquier followed up in good faith the wise and humane designs of his predecessor, and combined, as both duty and good sense would have taught him to do, the British and Colonial forces, a strong garrison, impregnable to Indians, could have been established on the Ohio, near the Great Bend, above the mouth of the Great Sandy. Any person who now casts a glance on a general map of the Ohio valley, and, with its entire surface, compares this peculiar position, must have no doubt of its utility in protecting the frontier. On the other hand, however, when the ruling authori-

ties of Great Britain not only refused to co-operate but opposed such a plan, it would have been, in the then state of colonial dependence, the utmost rashness on the part of General Lewis to have advanced into the Indian country with his provincials. On the part of Fauquier, his proceedings were guided by no better motives than the mere insolence of power; but, though he defeated one of the few judicious plans of the British viceroys in North America, he enkindled a flame which burned with consuming retaliation in the Revolutionary war.

“ This order produced a council of war in which most of the officers insisted on prosecuting their expedition. Some felt and insisted on the necessity of superior power. A compromise was agreed upon, and the army marched to the banks of the Ohio river, and was no doubt the first Anglo-Saxon force which ever reached that stream below a few miles from Pittsburgh.

“ With heavy hearts they proceeded—more or less the case in all retreats; but in this a complication of reasons existed to appall the bravest hearts, and superinduce depression. Winter had set in; their provisions were exhausted, and ammunition, their resource for food, was scanty; and thus were they to retrace three hundred miles, over rapid rivers in pathless forests, and over high and rugged mountains. To these were added the still more fearful dangers from hovering Indians, who, in fact, were soon found on their flanks. In these dreadful circumstances, orders were issued forbidding either shooting, or kindling fires, forcing the men to perish with hunger to save themselves from being shot by their enemies. Many did perish with cold and hunger. Their famished pack-horses, their buffalo-hide thongs, the strings of their moccasins, and belts, were

used for food. Under such circumstances of suffering did the remnant of this gallant army reach their homes and friends. Many of the survivors lived, however, to gain a terrible vengeance in the Revolutionary war on those they regarded, and that justly, as their worst enemies, the British officers."

This campaign for many years afterwards bore the name of "the Sandy creek voyage" among the settlers.

Thus stood the settlements of the west when the country fell into the hands of the English.

After the erection of the Loyalhanna fort in 1758, an infant settlement was commenced around it, which was the first made within the limits of what is now Westmoreland county, Pa. Its progress had been tardy; and not until the peace subsequent to the hostilities of 1763, was there any spread of settlements across towards the Kiskeminetas river, or to the westward.

## CHAPTER XVI.

A means by which information was obtained respecting the Indians—Capture of James Smith—Carried to Fort Du Quesne—Runs the gantlet—Removed to Kittanning, and from thence to Tullihas on the Muskingum—Undergoes the Indian toilet, and is adopted—Attends a feast—War dance performed—Leaves on a hunting excursion—Removal—Incidents, etc.—Escape to the French at Montreal—Exchanged and returns.

It happened during an early period of the settlement of the western country, that the most correct information respecting the Indians was obtained through those who were so unfortunate as to be taken captive by them. The accounts rendered by such persons gave at once an insight into their customs and modes of life.

Among the earliest captivities on record from the Pennsylvania frontier, which is highly instructive of Indian life, is that of James Smith, who afterwards, from the opportunity afforded for becoming familiar with the habits of the savages, became as successful as prominent in skirmishes with them, during the subsequent wars of the country.

In the spring of 1755, a road was cut at the expense of the province of Pennsylvania from Fort Loudon in Cumberland county to the Three Forks of the Youghiogheny, intersecting at that place with Braddock's road. It was designed to furnish supplies by, for Braddock's army, and for a communication with the western country for the same purpose when Braddock should

take possession of it, as but little doubts were entertained about the success of his campaign.

Three hundred men were employed in the service. James Smith, a young man of eighteen years of age, was of the number. Being sent back with another for the purpose of hurrying forward some provision wagons, on their return they were waylaid by three Indians, his companion killed and scalped, and he taken prisoner. He was immediately marched to Fort Du Quesne, where his *entree* to the place failed not to be signalized by the cruel custom of running the *gantlet*, amid the yells, execrations, and blows of numerous savages. Felled to the earth before he had reached the place for which he had to run, he was carried senseless into the fort, and on return to a consciousness of his situation, found himself being administered to by a French physician, under whose care he eventually recovered from the wounds that had been so unmercifully inflicted upon him. In the mean time Braddock had advanced and been defeated. The distressing account given by him of that melancholy affair, throws much light upon the movements of the French and Indians at that time.

Shortly afterwards he was taken by some Delaware Indians, who had resolved on sparing his life, in a canoe up the Allegheny, to an Indian town, which he mentions as about forty miles distant; and from which, it is probable that the Kittanning villages was the place, they being about that distance. After remaining here about three weeks he was taken to another town called Tullihas, inhabited by Delawares, Caughnewagas, and Mohikans, on the north branch of the Muskingum. The day after arriving at this latter place, the hair from his head was all plucked

out but a small tuft on the crown, which they dressed after their own fashion. His ears and nose were then perforated and adorned with *jewels*. His accustomed dress was next abandoned and that of the Indian substituted. His body now being painted with various colors, a belt of wampum thrown over his neck, and his arms adorned with silver bands, he was led out in front of the wigwams by an old chief, who gave a few sharp halloos (*coo-wigh*), upon which the inhabitants of the whole town came running and gathered around him and the metamorphosed prisoner, whom he retained by the hand.

Smith not being informed for what object he was thus obliged to submit to their barbarous notions of dress; and now, that the whole inhabitants of the town were summoned, he began to suppose he had only been prepared to be the victim of some of their cruel rites. Not a prisoner being spared life, as he says, that was taken at Braddock's defeat, he concluded that they were now determined to prelude his certain death by the infliction of some excruciating torments.

When the multitude had assembled around, the old chief, by his side, made a long, loud speech. This ended, the prisoner was given into the custody of three young squaws, who leading him by the hand down the bank of the river, entered it till the water was mid-way deep. The squaws made signs to him to plunge under the water, but not understanding the motive, he concluded that his death indeed had been resolved upon, and these three young females deputed his executioners; accordingly a most stubborn resistance was made by him, when the whole three endeavored as industriously to force him under the water. Loud yells and peals of laughter echoed from the motley crowd of chiefs, war-

riors, squaws and children, on the bank; while poor Smith, as Thomson perhaps would express it, while alluding to a similar circumstance,

"Inly disturbed, and wondering what this wild,  
Outrageous tumult means,"

struggled the more.

At length one of the squaws calling all her little English in aid, made out to give him assurance of their perfectly peaceful intentions, by saying, "*no hurt you.*"

Upon, at length, thus understanding their wishes, Smith quietly gave himself up to their ladyships, who, he said, were as good as their word; for though they plunged him under the water and washed and rubbed him severely, they did not hurt him much.

After the process of washing was over, he was conducted by the courteous females up to the council-house, where a full suit of Indian costume awaited him, in which he was immediately habited. It consisted of a ruffled shirt, a pair of leggins "done off with ribbons," and a "pair of moccasons dressed with beads, porcupine quills and red hair," together with a tinsel-laced capo. His neck and face was again painted various colors, and his head adorned with feathers.

Being seated on a bear-skin, a pipe, tomahawk, and polecat-skin pouch were given him; the latter containing tobacco, spunk, flint and steel. The Indians, dressed and painted in their grandest manner, now entered, and seating themselves with their pipes, a profound silence ensued.

Shortly, one of the chiefs rose and made a speech, addressing himself to Smith, which being interpreted to him, was—

"My son, you are now flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone. By the ceremony that was performed

this day, every drop of white-man's blood was washed out of your veins; you are taken now into the Caughnawago nation, and initiated into a warlike tribe; you are adopted into a great family, and now received with great seriousness and solemnity in the room and place of a great man. By what has passed this day you are now one of us by an old strong law and custom. My son, you have now nothing to fear. We are now under the same obligations to love, support, and defend you, that we are to love and defend one another; therefore you are to consider yourself as one of our people."

Mr. Smith says, in his narrative, rather humorously, that he did not at the time put much faith in this "fine speech" of the old man; especially that of the white-man's blood being washed from his veins. However, their subsequent conduct towards him proved the sincerity of the speech, for no distinction was afterwards made between him and their people.

Smith was now acknowledged and greeted by his new kins-folk, and the ensuing evening invited to a feast.

We have been minute in this part of the narrative, that the ceremony of adoption into this nation might be presented.

After the feast was over in the evening, their war-dance was performed and their war-song sung, preparatory to the departure of a party of warriors, who were to leave the next morning on a predatory excursion to the frontiers of Virginia.

Their war-dance seems to differ very little from that of the Senecas, which we have heretofore witnessed.

"They had both vocal and instrumental music," says Mr. Smith, "they had a short hollow gum, closed at one end, with water in it, and parchment stretched over the

open end thereof, which they beat with one stick, and made a sound nearly like a muffled drum,—all those who were going on this expedition collected together and formed. An old Indian then began to sing, and timed the music by beating on this drum, as the ancients formerly timed their music by beating the tabor. On this the warriors began to advance, or move forward in concert, like well disciplined troops would march to the fife and drum. Each warrior had a tomahawk, spear, or war-mallet in his hand, and they all moved regularly towards the east, or the way they intended to go to war. At length they all stretched their tomahawks towards the Potomac, and giving a hideous shout or yell, they wheeled quick about, and danced in the same manner back. The next was the war-song. In performing this, only one sung at a time, in a moving posture, with a tomahawk in his hand, while all the other warriors were engaged in calling aloud *he-uh, he-uh*, which they constantly repeated while the war-song was going on. When the warrior that was singing had ended his song, he struck a war-post with his tomahawk, and with a loud voice told what warlike exploits he had done, and what he now intended to do, which were answered by the other warriors with loud shouts of applause. Some who had not before intended to go to the war, at this time were so animated by the performance, that they took up the tomahawk and sung the war-song, which was answered with shouts of joy, as they were then initiated into the present marching company. The next morning this company all collected at one place, with their heads and faces painted with various colors, and packs upon their backs: they marched off, all silent, except the commander, who, in the front, sung the traveling song,

which began in this manner: *hoo caugh-tainte heegana*. Just as the rear passed the end of the town, they began to fire in their slow manner, from the front to the rear, which was accompanied with shouts and yells from all quarters."

Shortly afterwards the remaining warriors of the nation went on a hunting excursion a short distance west, Smith accompanied them. Many amusing things are mentioned by him as occurring. It seems buffalo and elk were plenty at the time, which, with others animals, were killed in abundance by the party.

After an absence of about six weeks they returned. By this time the party that had left for the Virginia frontiers had returned. They had brought many prisoners and scalps with them.

In the autumn of the same year Smith was taken across to Erie, his adopted brother-in-law having married a Wyandot squaw, and removing thither was the occasion of Smith's going.

It seems not to have been an unusual custom for one nation to intermarry with another. The Caughnewagas are mentioned as having intermarried also with the Delawares.

Winter coming on a cabin was built for their shelter. "They cut logs," continues Smith, "about fifteen feet long, and laid these logs upon each other, and drove posts in the ground at each end to keep them together; the posts they tied together at the top with bark, and by this means raised a wall fifteen feet long, and about four feet high, and in the same manner they raised another wall opposite to this, at about twelve feet distance; then they drove forks in the ground in the centre of each end, and laid a strong poll from end to end on these forks; and from these walls to the polls, they set

up polls instead of rafters, and on these tied small poles in place of laths; and a cover was made of lynn bark, which will run even in the winter season.

“As every tree will not run, they examine the tree first, by trying it near the ground, and when they find it will do, they fell the tree and raise the bark with the tomahawk near the top of the tree, about five or six inches broad, then put the tomahawk handle under this bark, and pull it along down to the butt of the tree; so that sometimes one piece of bark will be thirty feet long; this bark they cut at suitable lengths in order to cover the hut.

“At the end of these walls they set up split timber, so that they had timber all round, excepting a door at each end. At the top, in place of a chimney, they left an open place, and for bedding they laid down the aforesaid kind of bark, on which they spread bear skins. From end to end of this hut along the middle there were fires; which the squaws made of dry split wood, and the holes or open places that appeared, the squaws stopped with moss, which they collected from old logs; and at the door they hung a bear skin; and notwithstanding the winters are hard here, our lodging was much better than what I expected.”

This done, the warriors again left to harrass the frontiers, and the hunters to procure meat for the winter.

Warriors and hunters are distinct classes among the Indians, and the former chosen by votes on all occasions, which is considered a mark of high distinction. At this period when the guns were in demand for war, the hunters were restricted to bows and arrows, and often with a single arrow it seems they would kill even so formidable an animal as a bear.

Young Smith and Contileaugo, his brother-in-law, hunted in company. It being the time of year that bears lie most of the time in an inactive state in their lairs, and the season when their flesh is best, an endeavor was made to take them.

The manner in which they were caught was by observing trees with the bark scratched off which was done by them in the act of climbing to their holes—their lairs being for the most part in cavities in the bodies of trees at some distance from the ground.

When a tree was found with the bark somewhat scratched off, with a hole in the trunk above, a sapling was felled against it, to serve as a ladder. One of the hunters would now ascend the tree and drive out the animal with a pole, while another below stood in readiness to shoot the moment he made his appearance. If a failure was made in bringing him to daylight, a fire was kindled in the cavity to smoke him out.

Several bears were procured in this way by Smith and the Indian.

As the spring opened the Indians began to be occupied in making sugar from the sap of the maple. Their vessels, it seems, for holding the water, were made from elm bark, being large enough to contain several gallons. Their manner of notching the tree to obtain the water was by cutting a large one, sloping downwards, at the end of which a tomahawk was driven in. After taking the tomahawk out, a chip was driven in, which answered as a spile, and under which the vessel was set. The water being collected was boiled in brass kettles, which most of the Indians endeavored to be furnished with.

The manner in which they used the sugar was by mixing it plentifully with bear's fat, into which they dipped roasted venison.

The Indians are noted for their ability to run long distances. The Wyandots sometimes relied upon their wind in running down horses, and often, it appears, caught them in this way.

Smith and his adopted brother-in-law while hunting, came across some horses that were running at large. Stripping themselves naked, except the breech-clout and moccasons, they started in pursuit. Smith soon gave out for want of breath, but the Indian continued the pursuit the whole day, yet the animals still distanced him. The alternative then resorted to was, to shoot them through the neck between the bone and the mane. This was resorted to in the present instance, but as perhaps in many other cases, proved fatal, from not being able to send the ball precisely to the right place.

Many were the interesting scenes and customs of Indian life that fell under the notice of Smith while living with them. In the early part of the summer of 1758 word reached the French at Detroit that Forbes was preparing a formidable army to march against Fort Du Quesne. Smith was then with the Indians near Detroit. From him we learn that the French upon the receipt of this news, despatched runners to the different nations and tribes in that vicinity, soliciting their warriors to march forthwith to Fort Du Quesne to repel Forbes. The warriors generally soon rendezvoused at Detroit, with great cheerfu'nness and alacrity, boasting they would serve Forbes as they had Braddock.

After most of two years more wandering among the Indians, Smith made his escape to the French at Montreal, from which place, after being detained some time with other English prisoners, he was sent to Crown Point, and exchanged; from whence after five years ab-

sence, he returned home, where, he says, he 'was received with great joy but with surprise, to seem so much like an Indian, both in gait and gesture.'

In 1765 Smith was granted a lieutenant's commission, and accompanied Bouquet in his campaign against the Ohio Indians.

## CHAPTER XVII.

The early settlers—Village of Pittsburgh laid off—Old Redoubt, still standing—Burbridge's settlement on the Loyalhanna—Patience Bickerstaff—Jim Compass, a friendly Indian—Burbridge killed by Compass—Patience again the hunter's bride—Removal to Forbes' Road—Thomas Burbridge—Sale of his brother's estate—John Craig, an old Revolutioner.

Up to the present date, 1764, we have now narrated the principal incidents, and endeavored to give a view of the few infant settlements that had already been commenced.

During the few years of peace that ensues from this time, their progress was much more rapid, and so much so, that the settlement of the country might be said to be but properly commenced at this period.

The adventurous pioneer plunging into the gloom of the forests, sought but for an eligible site for his cabin, and a productive spot for his fields,

“His nearest neighbor still miles afar,”—

where soon was heard the ceaseless echoes of his axe, and in a few years, the busy sounds of civilization.

A right to a tract of land was made by the government for the consideration of a residence on it for a certain length of time, and in consequence the forests began to be trodden in every direction, in search for the best lands. The settlements, in a general way, were made first along the water courses, from the facilities for communication afforded by the navigation of them.

It was during this year (1764) that the first plan of

lots, known as the Military plan, was laid off adjacent to Fort Pitt, and the projected village called Pittsburgh.

It was likewise during this same year that the old Redoubt, still standing, was erected by Colonel Bouquet immediately after his return with the army from the Muskingum.

Among the settlements made on the Loyalhanna at this period, an old hunter, by the name of William Burbridge, had commenced one near where New Alexandria now stands. He had built his cabin on the banks of the creek at a considerable distance from any other; which, shaded by the luxuriant forests, had long been the remote home of the hunter-hermit before any other than himself had entered it.

He had commenced what was called a *tomahawk improvement*; but possibly when he took up his residence here, the acquisition of land had been no object. Like many others in the distant forests, he may have remained but to enjoy the solitary hunter's life.

On the return of Bouquet's troops to the settlements east of the mountains, Burbridge in the course of his rambles, happened to fall in with them. And having perhaps come to the wise conclusion, like one of old, that it was not meet to be any longer alone, took occasion to reveal the secret of his resolves to one of the women that accompanied the army. Patience Bickerstaff, the name of his lady-love, though somewhat in the downhill of life, whom he had but seen to admire and attempt to win, with the same good freedom of her wooer, unhesitatingly confessed herself *the won*; and concurring with him in opinion that the ceremony of marriage was useless and but a folly in common with most others of civilized life, instantly agreed to become the partner of life's toils with him, unpronounced by other lips, and to accompany the hunter to his secluded abode.

Accordingly, Burbridge, after having procured from the homeward-bound soldiers a keg of whiskey, in exchange for some venison, which his faithful rifle never allowed him to be in want of, he proceeded with it under one arm, and his good bride at the other, to his cabin in the remote forests.

The history of this couple may be considered as instructive as amusing. It furnishes a specimen of life not uncommon at that period in the Backwoods. We will therefore follow them to their home and accompany them in their subsequent wanderings.

Happy, doubtless, were the thrice-pleased pair in their obscure retreat, far from the cares and turmoils of bustling life; with plenty of good venison and better *old rye* at their command. Here, at any rate, almost unheard of, for some time they remained. And if happiness was not theirs, it was not because they were altogether pleased with themselves as well as the life they had chosen.

However, after a time the settlements began to approach; and of a still morning the sound of the forest-felling axe could be heard at a distance. And never perhaps did the hated harbinger of approaching civilization fall upon the Indian's ear with more unwelcomeness. A few months had but passed and the lands on the creek above and below Burbridge's cabin began to be *taken up*, as it was called, and the solitary hunter found himself no longer alone, when on an excursion through the pathless woods.

As most of the settlers of this period, like Burbridge, were rather hunters than cultivators of the soil, he found among those he occasionally met with, spirits not uncongenial, who afterwards became his companions, and too much like himself were fonder of pur-

suing the track of a deer, or testing their skill with the rifle at a target, than making an industrious effort at a settlement. The latter pastime was often resorted to, while the point at issue could seldom be settled. Accordingly it happened a day for a general trial of their skill was appointed. Burbridge had recently become the owner of a new silver-mounted rifle, of which he was very proud, not merely because it was of handsome make, but of unerring aim. This rifle, in the hands of its practised owner, won the prize from the competitors on the day that had been fixed for the trial of their skill.

Among those who contended for the reward of being called the "*best shot*," was a friendly Indian, known by the English name of *Jim Compass*. He had known but little of Burbridge, but now on a closer acquaintance, pretended to be much pleased with him; while he perhaps was better pleased with his rifle. Upon Burbridge leaving for home, the Indian proposed to accompany and spend a few days with him hunting, which was assented to, and they became companions.

One morning the call of a turkey was heard down the creek some distance below the cabin. The two proposed to proceed cautiously down the bank and kill it. When at some distance on the way, and approaching the bank where it overlooked the stream, the Indian suddenly halted and pretended to direct the attention of Burbridge to some water-foul, which he alleged were in the creek immediately under the bank, before them. Both with their guns in a position ready to fire, softly neared the brow of the bank. Burbridge was foremost, and the moment his attention was thus directed, the Indian treacherously discharged his gun and shot him through the back. Fatally wounded, but

not killed, he fell to the earth, and instantly comprehending the treachery of the act, directed his rifle, as he partly lay, towards the Indian, with the determination to despatch him. But the Indian dropping his own gun sprang behind a tree, a few steps distant, to save himself from his victim.

The secret of the whole was, that the Indian wished from the moment he had seen Burbridge's gun to become the possessor of it; and had made himself his companion expressly to await an opportunity to wrest it from him. However, no chance presenting to obtain it short of taking life, the treacherous alternative, at length, was determined upon, and committed in the manner just related.

The situation of the two was now curiously interesting. The wounded hunter unable to rise to his feet or crawl from the spot in which he lay, sedulously besieged the Indian behind the tree. His uncharged gun lay between him and Burbridge, and he dared not either venture to recover it, or attempt to escape from the tree, for the unerring rifle which he attempted to obtain, by his cowardly conduct, was still pointed towards him by the unfortunate, but still unnerved, hunter.

Night came, but with it brought no return of Burbridge or the Indian to the lonely cabin, where Patience Bickerstaff found herself the sole occupant. Two days and two nights more elapsed, and still she received no tidings of her hunter-husband.

She had heard the report of the rifle a short distance down the creek, directly after the two had left in pursuit of the turkey; and since judging that some accident might have happened, concluded to go down the bank on search. To her great sorrow and distress she came upon Burbridge where he lay, still alive, though nearly famished with hunger and worn down with exposure.

The Indian, though enabled to escape from his unpleasant situation at the return of night, still lingered around till the wasted strength of Burbridge allowed resistance no longer, when the rifle was taken, and he fled from the neighborhood with it.

Burbridge related the fatal circumstance in a few words to his sympathising help-mate. While she remained at his side, a number of *land-jobbers* came by on the opposite side of the creek. Patience hailed them for assistance, and they came over and bore the almost expiring hunter to his humble cabin, where he died in a few days.

The faithful Patience Bickerstaff was now alone. But there were more hunters in the neighborhood than the one she had buried; with not a few of whom she had become acquainted. For one of these a manifest predilection was early evident, and the worthy Patience was soon again entitled to the romantic distinction of *hunter's bride*; without the aid of priest or presence to the *union compact*.

A brother of the deceased Burbridge appeared in the neighborhood about this time, and as the lands were principally surveyed and claimed, they were looked upon as worth something. The brother, Thomas, by name, therefore, became the proper claimant of the tract on which Patience with her new husband still resided; and accordingly commenced an occupancy of it.

Patience Bickerstaff and her husband now concluded to remove out to Forbes' road, and there keep public; as that thoroughfare to the western country began to offer some inducement to prepare entertainment for emigrants and travelers that already passed along it.

Accordingly a cabin was erected at the road-side, and a keg of whiskey procured. And that the weary way-

farer might not pass the hospitable abode uninformed of its objects, a broad *clap-board* was pinned above the door on the outside, on which was written with keel, in large letters, the welcoming *insigne* of "ENTERTAINMENT."

Thomas Burbridge being an old bachelor, and like what his brother had been, a hunter, cared little about the improvement of the land. Before he had been long an occupant of the dilapidated cabin a family appeared in the neighborhood in pursuit of land, to whom Thomas made a sale. The conditions of which show, at least, the trifling value which was set upon land at that period. They were, that the purchaser should lodge Burbridge in his family during his life, for the consideration of a full and entire right to the tract of land, and a sufficient supply of venison and wild meat for the family, which Burbridge was to procure by way of pastime.

The purchaser's name was Samuel Craig. One of his sons, Captain John Craig, an old Revolutionary, is still living, and resides near Freeport, in Armstrong county, Pa., whom we have frequently heard relate the story of the early occupants of his father's farm. Though far descended in the vale of life, being nearly a hundred years old, this excellent old gentleman with his lighted pipe in his hand, his constant companion, never fails to entertain, with considerable vivacity, those that call upon him for a narration of the "tales of other days."

## CHAPTER XVIII

**Early settlers**—Settlements in Westmoreland county, Pa.—Wheeling settled by Colonel Zane and others—Murder of Bald Eagle—Destruction of Stroud's family—Massacre of Bulltown—Skirmish at Grave Creek—Destruction of the family of Logan, the Mingo chief—Retaliation of Logan—General hostilities of the Indians—Dunmore's campaign—Battle of Point Pleasant.

It is interesting to reflect on the peculiar energy of character, combined with a daring spirit of adventure, evinced by the early settlers of the western country, and by which alone they were prompted to brave the perils and hardships of a life in the wilderness. Abandoning their quiet homes in the older settlements, while generally in the prime of life, armed with the rifle, tomahawk and knife, alike to procure them the flesh of wild animals for food and protect them against the hostile savages, they bent their course towards the setting sun, through unknown forests and by unnamed streams, in search of a spot where to erect their solitary cabins, with expectations little beyond leading the life of the hermit. Watchful for their safety and obliged to rely on their own resources, the Indians soon became less expert as hunters and no more adroit as warriors, or better adapted to a forest life. Possessing generally, a physical ability not to be subdued by toil or fatigue, a cheerfulness of heart that mocked at calamity and a daring that never could be daunted, the perilous life they had espoused, even in its most trying moments, could not present obstacles or oppression to which their iron-spirits would succumb.

To such a hardy race alone is to be attributed the successful settlement of the country, and the final advantage gained over their natural enemies. Border warfare, from almost the moment the country began to be occupied by the whites, was one of extermination. The Indians appeared to foresee their ultimate doom, even by a friendly intermixture of the whites; and from the moment they warred for the soil, they warred to exterminate the transgressors.

The early settlers were rather hunters than cultivators of the land. The plenitude of game with which the forests were stored and the comparative facility with which it could be procured, affording a pleasing pastime, was of itself a sufficient cause to engross their attention; while it may have been, the leading motive with many to seek a residence in the wilderness.

Those that came into the country first seem to have been of a bolder and harder spirit than their followers. While their more resolute daring and disregard of fatigue or suffering, rendered them the better precursors of the others. And these almost entirely assumed the life of hunters.

It was not an unusual thing for adventurers to bury themselves in the forests for years, as unknown, as unheard of; and sometimes a single one, far from any infant settlement, would erect a kind of hut in some secluded nook or retired valley, where, a stranger to his species, and even eluding detection from the hovering Indians, he would remain for months and sometimes years, apparently in the perfect enjoyment of existence. From the peace of 1765 up to 1770, infant settlements were commenced on most of the branches of the Monongahela, and along the Loyalhanna, in Westmoreland county.

In 1769, the first settlement of any note at some distance below on the Ohio was made by Colonel Ebenezer Zane and his two brothers, Silas and Jonathan, with a few others. They set out from James river in Virginia, and reached the Ohio about a hundred miles below Pittsburgh, at the mouth of Wheeling creek, where they severally proceeded to select positions for their future homes. Colonel Zane chose an eminence on the bank of the river, a short distance above the mouth of the creek, around which has since been erected the flourishing town of Wheeling.

Shortly after this, various settlements were made on the Ohio, above and below Wheeling. And in consequence of an advanced position being thus taken in the country, the intermediate portion towards the older settlements began to be rapidly occupied.

But a period was again approaching when their progress was to be signally checked, and only by a long and well contested struggle, to be saved from entire annihilation. The dread of the merciless savages was ever present to the minds of the settlers, and often had their families fearfully to pay the forfeit of their temerity in hazarding a residence on the frontier. But the iron frame and resolute character of the borderer rendered it often rather a pastime to prosecute a warfare with the savages, than otherwise; and therefore could the country afterwards boast of a Boon and a Brady, whose intrepid daring, with many of their associates, will long entitle them to the grateful remembrance of their descendants and countrymen.

Whether the renewal of hostilities now again about to commence, was occasioned by individuals committing assaults on friendly Indians, or the encroachments of the settlements of the whites, has been a subject of

some diversity of opinion. True it is, there always were to be found persons on the frontiers, who were such sworn enemies to the savages, that in times of profoundest peace, they would allow no opportunity to escape when they might wreak their hatred upon the fated race.

Among many such instances at this time, was the murder of Bald Eagle, who "was," says Mr. Withers, "an Indian of notoriety, not only among his own nation, but also with the inhabitants of the frontier; with whom he was in the habit of associating and hunting. In one of his visits among them, he was discovered alone and murdered, solely to gratify a most wanton thirst for Indian blood. After the commission of this most outrageous enormity, he was seated in the stern of a canoe, and with a piece of journey-cake thrust into his mouth, set afloat on the Monongahela. In this situation he was seen descending the river by several, who supposed him to be as usual, returning from a friendly hunt with the whites in the upper settlements, and who expressed some astonishment that he did not stop to see them. The canoe floating near to the shore, below the mouth of George's creek, was observed by a Mrs. Province, who had it brought to the bank, and the friendly, but unfortunate old Indian, decently buried.

"Not long after the murder of Bald Eagle, another outrage of a similar nature was committed on a peaceable Indian, for which the person was apprehended and taken to Winchester for trial. But the fury of the populace did not suffer him to remain there awaiting that event. The prison doors were forced, the irons knocked off him, and he again set at liberty.

"But a still more atrocious act is said to have been soon after perpetrated. Until then, the murders com-

mitted were only on such as were found within the limits of white settlements, and on men and warriors. In 1772, there is every reason to believe, that women and children likewise became victims to the exasperated feelings of our own citizens; and this too, while quietly enjoying the comforts of their own huts, in their own village.

“ There was at that time an Indian town on the little Kenhawa, called Bulltown, inhabited by five families, who were in habits of social and friendly intercourse with the whites on Buchanan and on Hacker’s creek; frequently visiting and hunting with them. There was likewise residing on Gauley river, the family of a German by the name of Strond. In the summer of that year, Mr. Strond being from home, his family were all murdered, his house plundered, and his cattle driven off. The trail made by these leading in the direction of Bulltown, induced the supposition that the Indians of that village had been the authors of the outrage, and caused several to resolve on avenging it upon them.

“ A party of five men, (two of whom were William White and William Hacker, who had been concerned in previous murders,) expressed a determination to proceed immediately to Bulltown. The remonstrance of the settlement generally, could not operate to effect a change in that determination. They went; and on their return, circumstances justified the belief that the pre-apprehension of those who knew the temper and feelings of White and Hacker, had been well founded; and that there had been some fighting between them and the Indians. And notwithstanding that they denied ever having seen an Indian in their absence, yet it was the prevailing opinion, that they had destroyed all the men, women and children at Bulltown, and threw

their bodies into the river. Indeed, one of the party is said to have, inadvertently, used expressions confirmatory of this opinion; and to have then justified the deed, by saying that the clothes and other things known to have belonged to Strond's family, were found in the possession of the Indians. The village was soon after visited, and found to be entirely desolated, and nothing being ever after heard of its former inhabitants, there can remain no doubt but that the murder of Strond's family was requited on them."

The commission of these outrages in the time of professed peace, was of themselves sufficient to cause a revival of hostilities; yet not until crimes still of a deeper dye were perpetrated, was there any attempt at retaliation.

In the spring of 1774, it appears there were some horses stolen by the Indians from a party of land-jobbers on the Ohio, below Wheeling; which was looked upon as a signal for the commencement of a war against the frontiers. And consequently those that delighted in a renewal of open hostilities, were ready to be avenged of the depredators, however small the offence.

The land-jobbers shortly afterwards being collected at Wheeling, heard of a couple of Indians and some traders coming down the river, then but a short distance above. It was immediately proposed by Captain Cresap, the commandant of the station, that he would go up with a small party and kill the Indians. The project was opposed by Colonel Zane, but the party left, and on their return being asked respecting the Indians, they evasively answered that they had fallen overboard into the river; however, allowing it to be understood that they had been killed by them and thrown into the river.

On the evening of the same day, news reached them that a party of Indians were encamped at the mouth of Grave creek, a few miles below; when they forthwith proceeded down the river, and falling upon them, killed several and put the rest to flight. In the skirmish one of Cresap's men was severely wounded, which was the only injury received.

The Indians thus appearing in the neighborhood in parties, was looked upon as undeniable evidence of their intention to fall upon the whites; and attacks were hourly expected.

A short time after the skirmish at Grave creek, it was known that a number of Indians were encamped at the mouth of Yellow creek, some distance above Wheeling. And on account of some settlers living in that neighborhood, fears were expressed for their safety, and it was proposed that a party should be sent from Wheeling for the purpose of routing the Indians. Thirty-two men were accordingly raised, and immediately marched under the command of Daniel Greathouse, who had been a terrible enemy to the savages, in time of war or peace. Secretly reaching the vicinity of a cabin of a settler on the opposite side of the river from the Indians, the party concealed themselves, while Greathouse, with a show of friendship, went over to the Indian encampment to ascertain their strength. While there he was privately admonished by an Indian woman to leave, for the warriors, she said, were on a frolic, and being displeased on account of the murder of their people at Grave creek, might do him harm.

On the return of Greathouse to the party, he reported that the enemy was too strong for an open attack and that some stratagem must be resorted to.

The liquor they were using they had obtained from

the settler, and were frequently crossing back and forwards for it. Greathouse went to the cabin and advised that they should be given freely, as much as they wanted; and an endeavor made, not only to detain such as came over, but invitations be sent for others to come, that they might be separated considerably, when an attack should be suddenly commenced upon them.

The plan succeeded well. Several, after a time, were gathered into the cabin, and soon became quite intoxicated; when they were fallen upon by the party rushing in, and all killed but a young Indian girl.

Those across the river at the encampment hearing the firing, immediately sent some over in canoes to ascertain the cause, who were permitted to land, but no sooner on the shore than they were fallen upon and killed. The party not returning, another was detached from the encampment to their aid, for they began to correctly apprehend the whole disturbance. Before these had reached the shore, a fire was opened upon them, and the most of them killed, while the survivors retreated back to the other shore.

An attack was now made by the Indians from the other side of the river, but without effect.

The family of the celebrated Logan, the Mingo chief, and former friend of the white man, was principally murdered at this place and at Grave creek, which called forth a fearful revenge upon the frontiers.

It is true "a calm followed these troubles, but it was only such as goes before the storm, and lasted only while the tocsin of war could be sounded among the distant Indians. On the 12th July, 1774, Logan, at the head of a small party of only eight warriors, struck a blow on some inhabitants upon the Muskingum, where no one expected it. He had left the settlements on

the Ohio undisturbed, which every one supposed would be the first attacked, in case of war, and hence the reason of his great success. His first attack was upon three men who were pulling flax in a field. One was shot down, and the two others taken. These were marched into the wilderness, and, as they approached the Indian town, Logan gave the scalp halloo, and they were met by the inhabitants, who conducted them in. Running the gantlet was next to be performed. Logan took no delight in tortures, and he in the most friendly manner instructed one of the captives how to proceed to escape the severities of the gantlet. This same captive, whose name was Robinson, was afterwards sentenced to be burned; but Logan, though not able to rescue him by his eloquence; with his own hand cut the cords that bound him to the stake, and caused him to be adopted into an Indian family."

The settlers now aware that a general warfare would be commenced by the Indians, immediately sent an express to Williamsburg, the seat of government in Virginia, communicating their apprehensions, and soliciting protection.

The legislature was in session at the time, and it was immediately resolved upon to raise an army of about three thousand men, and march into the heart of the Indian country.

One half of the requisite number of troops was ordered to be raised in Virginia, and marched under General Andrew Lewis across the country to the mouth of the Kenhawa; and the remainder to be rendezvoused at Fort Pitt, and be commanded by Dunmore in person, who proposed to descend the Ohio and join Lewis at the place mentioned, from where the combined army

was to march as circumstances might dictate at the time.

By the 11th of September the troops under General Lewis, numbering about eleven hundred men, were in readiness to leave. The distance across to the mouth of the Kenhawa, was near one hundred and sixty miles through an unbroken wilderness. A competent guide was secured, the baggage mounted on pack-horses, and in nineteen days they arrived at the place of destination.

The next morning after the arrival of the army at Point Pleasant, as the point of land at the junction of the Kenhawa and the Ohio was called, two men were out some distance from the camp, in pursuit of a deer, and were suddenly fired upon by a large body of Indians; one was killed and the other with difficulty retreated back to the army; who hastily reported "that he had seen a body of the enemy covering four acres of ground, as closely as they could stand by the side of each other."

General Lewis was a remarkably cool and considerate man; and upon being informed of this, "after deliberately lighting his pipe," gave orders that the regiment under his brother Colonel Charles Lewis, and another under Colonel Fleming, should march and reconnoiter the enemy, while he would place the remainder of the troops in order for battle. The two regiments marched without delay, and had not proceeded more than four hundred yards when they were met by the Indians, approaching for the same purpose. A skirmish immediately ensued, and before the contest had continued long, the colonels of the two regiments fell mortally wounded, when a disorder in the ranks followed, and the troops began a precipitate retreat; but

almost at this moment another regiment under Colonel Field arriving to their aid, and coming up with great firmness to the attack, effectually checked the savages in the pursuit, and obliged them in turn to give way till they had retired behind a breastwork of logs and brush which they had partially constructed.

Lewis, on his arrival at the place, had encamped quite on the point of land between the Ohio and Kenhawa, and having moved but a short distance out to the attack, the distance across from river to river was still but short. The Indians soon extending their ranks entirely across, had the Virginians completely hemmed in, and in the event of getting the better of them, had them at their disposal, as there could have been no chance for escape.

“Never was ground maintained with more obstinacy; for it was slowly, and with no precipitancy, that the Indians retired to their breastwork. The division under Lewis was first broken, although that under Fleming was nearly at the same moment attacked. This heroic officer first received two balls through his left wrist, but continued to exercise his command with the greatest coolness and presence of mind. His voice was continually heard, ‘Don’t lose an inch of ground. Advance, outflank the enemy, and get between them and the river.’ But his men were about to be outflanked by the body that had just defeated Lewis; meanwhile the arrival of Colonel Field turned the fortune of the day, but not without a severe loss; Colonel Fleming was again wounded, by a shot through the lungs; yet he would not retire, and Colonel Field was killed as he was leading on his men. The whole line of the breast-work now became as a blaze of fire, which lasted near-

ly till the close of the day. Here the Indians under Logan, Cornstock, Elenipsico, Red-Eagle, and other mighty chiefs of the tribes of the Shawneese, Delawares, Mingos, Wyandots and Cayugas, amounting, as was supposed, to fifteen hundred warriors, fought, as men will ever do for their country's wrongs, with a bravery which could only be equaled. The voice of the mighty Cornstock was often heard during the day, above the din of strife, calling on his men in these words: 'Be strong! Be strong!' And when by the repeated charges of the whites, some of his warriors began to waver, he is said to have sunk his tomahawk into the head of one who was cowardly endeavoring to desert. General Lewis, finding at length that every charge upon the lines of the Indians lessened the number of his forces to an alarming degree, and rightly judging that if the Indians were not routed before it was dark, a day of more doubt might follow, he resolved to throw a body, if possible, into their rear. As the good fortune of the Virginians turned, the bank of the river favored this project, and forthwith three companies were detached upon the enterprise, under the three captains, Isaac Shelby, (after renowned in the revolution, and since in the war with Canada,) George Matthews, and John Stewart. These companies got unobserved to their place of destination upon Crooked Creek, which runs into the Kenhawa. From the high weeds upon the banks of this little stream, they rushed upon the backs of the Indians with such fury, as to drive them from their works with precipitation. The day was now decided. The Indians, thus beset from a quarter they did not expect, were ready to conclude that a reinforcement had arrived. It was about sunset when

they fled across the Ohio, and immediately took up their march for their towns on the Sciota."\*

Of the loss of both Indians and whites in this engagement, various statements have been given. A number amounting to seventy-five killed, and one hundred and forty wounded of the whites, has been rendered; with a loss on part of the Indians not so great, but not correctly known.

\* *Drake.*

## CHAPTER XIX.

Governor Dunmore descends from Fort Pitt—Sends messengers to General Lewis—At the mouth of Hockhocking—Simon Girty—Old Revolutioners—Retreat of General Lewis—Speech of Cornstalk—Logan's celebrated speech—Difficulties with the Indians consequent to the American Revolution—Cornstalk visits the fort at Point Pleasant—Retained in the fort—The assassination of himself and his son.

Governor Dunmore having rendezvoused his troops at Fort Pitt and provided boats for their conveyance, descended the river to Wheeling, where an additional number of canoes, pirogues and keel-boats were obtained; and they continued down to the mouth of Hockhocking. On arriving here, two scouts were despatched to General Lewis with orders, that as the plan of operations were changed, he should continue his march across towards the Shawnee towns, where a junction of the troops should take place, instead of at Point Pleasant as agreed before.

Simon Girty, afterwards so conspicuous as a refugee among the Indians, was one of these scouts. The other was a youth of eighteen, who still survives, and is a resident of Westmoreland county in this state. By the aid of this worthy (now) old gentleman, and of another, Samuel Murphy of Armstrong county, who likewise served in Dunmore's campaign, we are able to present a correct account of this expedition, concerning which such varied statements have been given heretofore.

The two scouts having descended to the mouth of the Kenhawa, Lewis was found not to have arrived. They

concluded then to proceed up that stream till they should meet him, as he would arrive from that direction. But before they had gone above three miles, meeting with fresh traces of Indians, they concluded not to proceed any farther, as they doubtless would be intercepted before they could reach the approaching troops. Accordingly it was agreed that the despatches should be left, and they would return. A large hollow beech tree stood near by the path; in this the papers were carefully deposited, and signs left on the outside to direct attention to them.

Girty and Parchment now crossed the Ohio, and soon came upon a fine buck, which they killed and dressed, and as night was approaching an encampment was made and some of the meat broiled for a repast.

The next morning about sunrise, as they were preparing to continue their journey, the report of a number of guns was suddenly heard below, at the mouth of the Kenhawa. Lewis had arrived the evening before at the Point, and this was ascertained to be the commencement of the battle between him and the Indians.

Two days after the return of Girty and Parchment to the mouth of Hockhocking, Dunmore continued his march up that stream and across in a direction towards the Piqua plains.

Before he had reached that place, the Indians, aware of his approach, and perhaps intimidated by their late misfortune, sent messengers to meet him, sueing for peace. After a time Dunmore determined to comply, and halting, sent an express to General Lewis, ordering him to retreat. Lewis supposing that he perhaps was still uninformed of the victory that had been gained at the Point, and the consequent importance of following it up, continued his march until he was met by Dunmore

in person, when a retreat, in compliance with his orders, though with great reluctance, was commenced.

An encampment being made by Dunmore, a treaty was opened the ensuing day.

Cornstalk, the notable Shawnee chief, opened the meeting with a warm and animated speech, in which he boldly attributed the occasion of the war to the murder of their people above and below Wheeling.

“ He displayed the skill of a statesman, joined to powers of oratory, rarely, if ever surpassed. With the most patriotic devotion to his country, and in a strain of most commanding eloquence, he recapitulated the accumulated wrongs which had oppressed their fathers, and which were oppressing them. Sketching in lively colors the once happy and powerful condition of the Indians, he placed in striking contrast their present fallen fortunes and unhappy destiny. He is said to have been opposed to the war from its commencement; and to have proposed on the eve of the battle at Point Pleasant, to send in a flag, and make overtures for peace; but this proposal was overruled by the general voice of the chiefs. When a council was first held after the defeat of the Indians, Cornstalk reminding them of their late ill-success, and that the Long Knives were still pressing on them, asked what should be then done. But no one answered. Rising again, he proposed that the women and children should be all killed; and that the warriors should go out and fight until they too were slain. Still no one answered. Then, said he, striking his tomahawk into the council-post, ‘ I will go and make peace.’ ”\* Peace was accordingly sued for, and the treaty, as mentioned, held.

\* *Chronicles of Border Warfare.*

"Logan would not meet the whites in council, but remained in his cabin in sullen silence, until a messenger was sent to him to know whether he would accede to the proposals it contained. What the distance was from the treaty-ground to Logan's cabin we are not told; but of such importance was his name considered, that he was waited on by a messenger from Lord Dunmore, who requested his assent to the articles of the treaty. Logan had too much at heart the wrongs lately done him to accede without giving the messenger to understand fully the grounds upon which he acceded; he therefore invited him into an adjacent wood, where they sat down together. Here he related the events of butchery which had deprived him of all his connections; and here he pronounced his memorable speech."\*

From the peace concluded by Dunmore a calm ensued for a time. The next outbreak of the Indians was in consequence of difficulties between the colonies and the government of Great Britain, when they were of

\* "I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him no meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not.

"During the course of the last long bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.'

"I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Col. Cressap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan; not even sparing my women and children.

"There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one!"

the most distressing character, and of long continuance; for they might be said to have scarcely closed till the treaty of Wayne in 1794.

From almost the moment of the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle the western frontier suffered in a manner that had been unparalleled. The call for troops at that momentous period from all quarters of the country, of a consequence left the frontiers in a fearfully unprotected condition, which the Indians becoming soon aware of, took advantage of it, and desolation and distress followed in the wake wherever they went.

Their deadly aversion to the encroachments of the whites was of itself sufficient to prompt them to a destructive warfare, and especially when so little repulsion was met with. But other causes were at work.

“ British agents were busily engaged from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, in endeavoring by immediate presents and the promise of future reward, to excite them to a war upon the western frontiers. To accomplish this object, no means which were likely to be of any avail, were neglected to be used. Gratified resentment and the certainty of plunder, were held up to view as present consequences of this measure; and the expulsion of the whites, and the repossession by the natives of the country from which their father had been ejected, as its ultimate result. Less cogent motives might have enlisted them on the side of Great Britain. These were too strong to be resisted by them, and too powerful to be counteracted by any course of conduct which the colonies could observe towards them; and they became ensnared by the delusive bait, and the insidious promises which accompanied it. There were

in the colonies too, many persons, who from principle or fear, were still attached to the cause of Great Britain; and who not only did not sanction the opposition of their country to the supremacy of Parliament, but were willing in any wise to lend their aid to the royal cause. Some of those disaffected Americans, (as they were at first denominated) who resided on the frontiers foreseeing the attachment of the Indians to the side of Britain, and apprehensive that in their inroads, the friends as well as the enemies of that country, might, from the difficulty of discriminating, be exposed to savage fury; and at the same time, sensible that they had become obnoxious to a majority of their neighbors, who were perhaps, too much inclined to practise summary modes of punishment, sought a refuge among the Indians from those impending evils. In some instances, these persons were under the influence of the most rancorous and vindictive passions, and when once with the savages, strove to infuse those passions into their breasts, and stimulate them to the repetition of those enormities, which had previously so terribly annoyed the inhabitants of the different frontiers. Thus wrought upon, their inculcated enmity to the Anglo-Americans generally, roused them to action, and the dissonant notes of the war song resounded in their villages. For a while indeed, they refrained from hostilities against North Western Virginia. It was, however, but to observe the progress of passing events, that they might act against the mountain borders, simultaneously with the British on the Atlantic coast; as a premature movement on their part, might, while Virginia was yet at liberty to bear down upon them with concentrated forces, bring upon their towns the destruction which had

so appallingly threatened them after the battle at Point Pleasant.

“A coalition of the many tribes north-west of the Ohio river, had been some time forming, and the assent of the Shawnees alone, was wanting to its perfection. The distinguished Sachem at the head of that nation, was opposed to an alliance with the British, and anxious to preserve a friendly intercourse with the colonists. All his influence, with all his energy, was exerted to prevent his brethren from again involving themselves in a war with the whites. But it was likely to be in vain. Many of his warriors had fallen at the mouth of the Kenhawa, and his people had suffered severely during the continuance of that war; they were, therefore, too intent on retaliation, to listen to the sage counsel of their chief. In this posture of affairs, Cornstalk, in the spring of 1777, visited the fort, which had been erected at Point Pleasant after the campaign of 1774, in company with Red Hawk and another Indian. Captain Matthew Arbuckle was then commandant of the garrison; and when Cornstalk communicated to him the hostile preparations of the Indians,—that the Shawnees alone were wanting to render a confederacy complete,—that, as the ‘current set so strongly against the colonies, even they would float with the stream in despite of his endeavors to stem it,’ and that hostilities would commence immediately, he deemed it prudent to detain him and his companions as hostages, for the peace and neutrality of the different tribes of Indians in Ohio. He at the same time acquainted the newly organized government of Virginia, with the information which he had received from Cornstalk, and the course which he had taken with that chief, and the others who accompanied him to the garrison.

"Upon the receipt of this intelligence, it was resolved, if volunteers could be had for this purpose, to march an army into the Indian country, and effectually accomplish the objects which had been proposed to be achieved in the campaign of Lord Dunmore in 1774. The volunteers in Augusta and Bottetourt, were to rendezvous as early as possible at the mouth of the Big Kenhawa, where they would be joined by other troops under General Hand, who would then assume the command of the whole expedition.

"In pursuance of this resolve, three or four companies only were raised in the counties of Bottetourt and Augusta; and these immediately commenced their march to the place of general rendezvous, under the command of Colonel George Skillern. In the Greenbrier country, great exertions were made by the militia officers there to obtain volunteers, but with little effect. One company only was formed, consisting of thirty men and the officers, laying aside all distinctions of rank, placed themselves in the line as common soldiers, and proceeded to Point Pleasant with the troops led on by Colonel Skillern. Upon their arrival at that place, nothing had been heard of General Hand, or of the forces which it was expected would accompany him from Fort Pitt; and the volunteers halted to await some intelligence from him.

"The provisions for the support of the army in its projected invasion of the Indian country, were expected to be brought down the river, from Fort Pitt; and the troops under Colonel Skillern had only taken with them what was deemed sufficient for their subsistence on their march to the place of rendezvous. This stock was nearly exhausted, and the garrison was too ill supplied, to admit of their drawing on its stores. While

thus situated, and anxiously awaiting the arrival of General Hand with his army and provisions, the officers held frequent conversations with Cornstalk, who seemed to take pleasure in acquainting them with the geography of the country west of the Ohio river generally, and more particularly with that section of it lying between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. One afternoon while he was engaged in delineating on the floor a map of that territory, with the various water courses emptying into those two mighty streams, and describing the face of the country, its soil and climate, a voice was heard hallooing from the opposite shore of the Ohio, which he immediately recognised to be that of his son Ellinipsico, and who coming over at the instance of Cornstalk, embraced him most affectionately. Uneasy at the long absence of his father, and fearing that some unforeseen evil might have befallen him, he had come to learn some tidings of him here; knowing that it was the place, to go to which he had left the nation. His visit was prompted by feelings, which do honor to human nature—anxious solicitude for a father—but it was closed by a most terrible catastrophe.

“ On the day after the arrival of Ellinipsico, and while he was yet in the garrison, two men from Captain Hall’s company of Rockbridge volunteers, crossed the Kenhawa river on a hunting excursion. As they were returning to the canoe for the purpose of recrossing to the fort, after the termination of the hunt, Gilmore was espied by two Indians concealed near the bank, who fired at, killed and scalped him. At that instant, Captains Arbuckle and Stuart (the latter having accompanied the Greenbrier volunteers as a private soldier,) were standing on the point opposite to where lay the canoe in which Hamilton and Gilmore had crossed the

river; and expressed some astonishment that the men should be so indiscreet as to be shooting near to the encampment, contrary to commands.

“They had scarcely time to express their disapprobation at the supposed violation of orders, when Hamilton was seen running down the bank of the river, and heard to exclaim, that Gilmore was killed. A party of Captain Hall’s men immediately sprang into a canoe and went over to relieve Hamilton from danger, and to bring the body of Gilmore to the encampment. Before they re-landed with the bloody corpse of Gilmore, a cry arose, ‘Let us go and kill the Indians in the fort;’ and pale with rage they ascended the bank, with Captain Hall at their head, to execute their horrid purpose. It was vain to remonstrate. To the interference of Captains Arbuckle and Stuart to prevent the fulfilling of this determination, they responded by cocking their guns, and threatening instant death to any one who should dare to oppose them.

“The interpreter’s wife, (who had lately returned from Indian captivity, and seemed to entertain a feeling of affection for Cornstalk and his companions) seeing their danger, ran to their cabin to apprise them of it, and told them that Ellinipsico was charged with having brought with him the Indians who had killed Gilmore. This however he positively denied, averring that he came alone, and with the sole object of learning something of his father. In this time Captain Hall and his men had arrived within hearing, and Ellinipsico appeared much agitated. Cornstalk however encouraged him to meet his fate composedly, saying, ‘My son, the Great Spirit has seen fit that we should die together, and has sent you here to that end. It is his will and let us submit; it is all for the best;’ and turning to meet his mur-

derers at the door, received seven bullets in his body and fell without a groan.

“Thus perished the mighty Cornstalk, sachem of the Shawnees, and king of the northern confederacy in 1774: a chief remarkable for many great and good qualities. He was disposed to be all times the friend of white men; as he ever was the advocate of honorable peace. But when his country’s wrongs ‘called aloud to battle,’ he became the thunderbolt of war; and made ~~her~~ oppressors feel the weight of his uplifted arm. He sought not to pluck the scalp from the head of the innocent, nor to war against the unprotected and defenceless; choosing rather to encounter his enemies girded for battle, and in open conflict. His noble bearing—his generous and disinterested attachment to the colonies, when the thunder of British cannon was reverberating through the land—his anxiety to preserve the frontier of Virginia from desolation and death, (the object of his visit to Point Pleasant)—all conspired to win for him the esteem and respect of others; while the untimely and perfidious manner of his death caused a deep and lasting regret to pervade the bosoms even of those who were enemies to his nation; and excited the just indignation of all towards his inhuman and barbarous murderers.

“When the father fell Ellinipsico continued still and passive, not even raising himself from the seat which he had occupied before they received notice, that some infuriated whites were loudly demanding their immolation. He met death in that position, with the utmost composure and calmness. The trepidation which at first seized upon him was but of momentary duration, and was succeeded by a most dignified sedateness and stoical apathy. It was not so with young Red

Hawk. He endeavored to conceal himself up the chimney of the cabin in which they were, but without success. He was soon discovered and killed. The remaining Indian was murdered by piece-meal; and with almost all those circumstances of cruelty and horror which characterize the savage in wreaking vengeance upon an enemy.

“Cornstalk is said to have had a presentiment of his approaching fate. On the day preceding his death a council of officers was convoked in consequence of the continued absence of General Hand, and their entire ignorance of his force or movements, to consult and determine on what would be the course for them to pursue under existing circumstances. Cornstalk was admitted to the council; and in the course of some remarks with which he addressed it, said, ‘When I was young and went to war, I often thought each might be my last adventure, and I should return no more. I still lived. Now I am in the midst of you, and if you choose you may kill me. I can die but once. It is alike to me whether now or hereafter.’ Little did those who were listening with delight to the eloquence of his address, and deriving knowledge from his instruction, think to see him so quickly and inhumanly driven from the theatre of life. It was a fearful deed, and dearly was it expiated by others. The Shawnees were a warlike people, and became henceforward the most deadly foe to the inhabitants on the frontiers.

“In a few days afterwards General Hand arrived from Pittsburgh without an army, and without provisions for those who had been awaiting his coming. It was then determined to abandon the expedition; and the volunteers returned to their homes.”\*

\* *Chronicles of Border Warfare.*

## CHAPTER XX.

Earliest settlements made in Kentucky—Henderson and company's grant—Character of the pioneers—Girty's attack on Wheeling—Fort Crawford, on the Allegheny, built—Fort M'Intosh built—M'Intosh's campaign—Erection of Fort Laurens, and issue of the campaign—Colonel Clarke's expedition against the French settlements in Illinois—Capture of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Fort Charters—Reduction of Fort Vincent.

Settlements in Kentucky were commenced some time before this. Prior to 1769, a hunter by name of John Findley had entered the country and wandered through different portions of it. On his return, representing it to abound with game, and seemingly entirely unoccupied by Indians, the intrepid Daniel Boon was induced to propose accompanying him with a few others, to explore the country. Accordingly in the summer of the year spoken of they spent several months traversing various parts of it.

In 1773, an attempt at emigration to it was made by several families from North Carolina under the guidance of Daniel Boon, but were repulsed by the Indians, and obliged to abandon the project for a time. However in the autumn of the same year the country was entered by a different route, which was by the Ohio river. Many of the troops who had served in the French war, being granted a bounty in western lands, collected at Fort Pitt, and descended to the falls at Louisville, from whence they proceeded through the country to explore it and locate their grants.

Shortly afterwards a fort was erected by some Pennsylvania emigrants on the north branch of Licking;

which being done under the superintendence of a James Harrod, was given the name of Harrod's fort. This adventurer was said to have erected the first cabin ever built in Kentucky, upon the site of which at present stands the village of Harrodsburgh.

Upon commencement of hostilities in 1774, most of the adventurers in Kentucky retired up the river to Wheeling and Fort Pitt. And so soon as a treaty was effected by Dunmore, they, in anticipation of not being disturbed, with many others, returned to Kentucky. About this time, (1775) the only actual settlements made in that country was in the vicinity of Harrod's fort. Two others, however, were soon afterwards erected, which afforded security and gave encouragement for the spread of settlements. The first of these was erected by Daniel Boon, on the site of which was afterwards built the village of Boonsborough.

About this time a number of persons in North Carolina, under the name of Henderson and company, made a purchase from the southern Indians of a quantity of land lying south of the Kentucky river and north of the Tennessee. Daniel Boon was engaged as their agent. An attempt towards an occupancy of the land was made by cutting a road from the Holstein settlement, but being checked by a party of Indians the project was abandoned.

The title of Henderson and company was afterwards declared by the legislature of Virginia to be of no account as far as respected purchase. However, as an indemnification for the money paid the Indians, and perhaps as a reward for their enterprise, the Assembly granted them two hundred thousand acres lying at the mouth of Green river.

In 1775, Benjamin Logan, one of Dunmore's troops,

visited Kentucky and commenced a settlement near the present site of the village of Stamford, where he erected a fort; which was the third built in Kentucky.

“As the tide of emigration flowed into the country, those three forts afforded an asylum from the Indian hostility to which the whites were incessantly subjected; and never perhaps lived three men better qualified by nature and habit, to resist that hostility, and preserve the settlers from captivity and death, than James Harrod, Daniel Boone, and Benjamin Logan. Reared in the lap of danger, and early inured to the hardships and sufferings of a wilderness life, they were habitually acquainted with those arts which were necessary to detect and defeat the one, and to lessen and alleviate the others. Intrepid and fearless, yet cautious and prudent, there was united in each of them, the sly, circumventive powers of the Indian, with the bold defiance and open daring of the whites. Quick, almost to intuition, in the perception of impending dangers, instant in determining, and prompt in action; to see, to resolve, and to execute, were with them the work of the same moment. Rife in expedients, the most perplexing difficulties rarely found them at a loss. Possessed of these qualities, they were placed at the head of the little colonies planted around them; not by ambition, but by the universal voice of the people; from a deep and thorough conviction, that they only were adequate to the exigencies of their situation. The conviction was not ill founded. Their intellectual and physical resources were powerfully and constantly exerted for the preservation and security of the settlements; and frequently, with astonishing success, under the most inauspicious circumstances. Had they indeed, by nature, been supine and passive, their isolated situation, and the constantly

repeated attempts of the Indians, at their extermination, would have aroused them, as it did others, to activity and energy, and brought their every nerve into action. For them there were no 'weak, piping times of peace,' no respite from danger. The indefatigable vigilance and persevering hostility of an unrelenting foe, required countervailing exertions on their part; and kept alive the life which they delighted to live." \*

In 1777, hostilities were vigorously commenced on the settlements of Kentucky by an Indian force of above two hundred warriors, who besieged several forts, and reduced the unhappy inmates to a most alarming condition for want of supplies, before a body of troops were marched from the Holstein settlement to their relief.

About this time hostilities were again renewed along the frontiers, from Fort Pitt down to the Kenhawa.

An army of about four hundred Indians, under the command of Simon Girty, appeared in the neighborhood of Wheeling, and shortly afterwards commenced an attack upon it. Before the assault was commenced, Girty is said to have appeared before the fort, demanding its surrender, with promises of kind treatment, if they would renounce the cause of the colonies and join themselves with that of the king of England; telling them at the same time, that he had marched thither from Detroit especially to afford protection and a safe escort to those who were willing to join the king's troops.

Colonel Zane replied in the most indignant manner, rejecting his propositions. Girty then attempted to awe them into a compliance by threatening immediate hostilities, and only ceased his harangue upon the discharge of a rifle at him, when he suddenly retired and drew up his savage forces to the attack.

\* Withers.

There were but thirty-three men in the fort for its defence, besides some women, who rendered no little aid. The attack was kept up for a day and a night, with but little advantage to the assailants, when they gave it up.

The border settlements were now overrun in every direction by scalping parties. The settlements in Westmoreland county began to suffer severely; and as many of the marauding parties were known to cross the Allegheny, it was proposed as an obstacle to their sallying from that direction, to erect a fort a suitable distance up the Allegheny, which might serve as a rallying point for scouts, as well as afford protection to those that might take refuge in it. Colonel William Crawford, with a small party of men, was accordingly sent to determine on the most eligible site, and put the fort under way of erection. About sixteen miles up the Allegheny from Fort Pitt, a shallow place occurred in the river, which the Indians used as a fording place. Here, on the south side of the river, a short distance above the mouth of Puckety creek, the fort was built, and called Crawford's Fort.

Several forts and block houses were erected about this time along the Loyalhanna, in Westmoreland county, and one on the Kiskeminitas, about two miles above the present town of Blairsville, known as Wallace's Fort.

In the spring of 1778 General M'Intosh was ordered with a small force of regulars, to the frontier for its protection. While at Fort Pitt being joined by a small company of militia, he descended the river to the mouth of Beaver, about thirty miles below, and commenced the erection of a fort, which was called Fort M'Intosh. It was "made of strong stockades, furnished with bas-

tions, and mounted with one six pounder." The now flourishing town of Beaver occupies its site.

In the autumn of the same year General M'Intosh received an order from the government to march against the Sandusky Indians. After considerable delay in raising troops and preparing for the expedition, he at length proceeded with a force above a thousand strong.

The route before them was long and laborious, and before they had yet made half the distance, the inclemency of the weather, from the approach of winter, rendered it impracticable to proceed any farther. By this time they had reached the Tuscarawas, and they concluded to erect a fort on its bank, and delay the prosecution of the campaign till the ensuing spring.

The fort being erected, it was determined to leave one hundred and forty men under Colonel John Gibson, and return with the remainder of the army to Fort Pitt.

"The first annoyance the garrison received from the Indians was some time in the month of January. In the night time they caught most of the horses belonging to the fort, and taking them off some distance into the woods, they took off their bells and formed an ambuscade by the side of a path leading through the high grass of a prairie at little distance from the fort. In the morning the Indians rattled the horse bells at the farther end of the line of the ambuscade. The plan succeeded; a fatigue of sixteen men went out for the horses and fell into the snare. Fourteen were killed on the spot, and two were taken prisoners, one of whom was given up at the close of war, the other was never afterwards heard of.

"General Benjamin Biggs, then a captain in the fort, being officer of the day, requested leave of the Colonel to go out with the fatigue party, which fell into the

ambuscade. ‘No,’ said the Colonel, ‘this fatigue party does not belong to a captain’s command. When I shall have occasion to employ one of that number, I shall be thankful for your service; at present you must attend to your duty in the fort. On what trivial circumstances do life and death sometimes depend!’

“In the evening of the day of the ambuscade, the whole Indian army, in full war dress and painted, marched in single file through a prairie in view of the fort; their number, as counted from one of the bastions, was eight hundred and forty seven. They then took up their encampment on an elevated piece of ground at a small distance from the fort, on the opposite side of the river. From this camp they frequently held conversations with the people of the garrison. In these conversations, they seemed to deplore the long continuance of the war and hoped for peace; but were much exasperated at the Americans for attempting to penetrate so far into their country. This great body of Indians continued the investment of the fort as long as they could obtain subsistence, which was about six weeks.

“An old Indian, of the name of John Thompson, who was with the American army in the fort, frequently went out among the Indians during their stay at the encampment, with the mutual consent of both parties. A short time before the Indians left the place, they sent word to Colonel Gibson by the old Indian, that they were desirous of peace, and that if he would send them a barrel of flour they would send in their proposals the next day; but although the Colonel complied with their request, they marched off without fulfilling their engagement.

“The commander supposing the whole number of the Indians had gone off, gave permission to Colonel

Clark, of the Pennsylvania line, to escort the invalids, to the number of eleven or twelve, to fort M'Intosh. The whole number of this detachment was fifteen. The wary Indians had left a party behind, for the purpose of doing mischief. These attacked this party of invalids and their escort, about two miles from the fort, and killed the whole of them with the exception of four, amongst whom was the captain, who ran back to the fort. On the same day a detachment went out from the fort, brought in the dead, and buried them with the honors of war in front of the fort gate.

"In three or four days after this disaster, a relief of seven hundred men, under Gen. M'Intosh, arrived at the fort with a supply of provision; a great part of which was lost by an untoward accident. When the relief had reached within about one hundred yards of the fort, the garrison gave them a salute of a general discharge of musketry, at the report of which the pack horses took fright, broke loose and scattered the provisions in every direction through the woods, so that the greater part of it could never be recovered again.

"Among other transactions which took place about this time, was that of gathering up the remains of the fourteen men who had fallen in the ambuscade during the winter, for interment, and which could not be done during the investment of the place by the Indians. They were found mostly devoured by the wolves. The fatigue party dug a pit large enough to contain the remains of all of them, and after depositing them in the pit, merely covering them with a little earth, with a view to have revenge on the wolves for devouring their companions, they covered the pit with slender sticks, rotten wood and bits of bark, not of sufficient strength to bear the weight of a wolf. On the top of this cov-

ering they placed a piece of meat, as bait for the wolves. The next morning seven of them were found in the pit. They were shot and the pit filled up.

“For about two weeks before the relief arrived, the garrison had been put on the short allowance of half a pound of sour flour and an equal weight of spoiled meat for every two days. The greater part of the last week, they had nothing to subsist on but such roots as they could find in the woods and prairies, and raw hides. Two men lost their lives by eating wild parsnip roots, by mistake. Four more nearly shared the same fate; but were saved by medical aid.

“On the evening of the arrival of the relief, two days rations were issued to each man in the fort. These rations were intended as their allowance during their march to fort M'Intosh; but many of the men, supposing them to have been back rations, eat up the whole of their allowance before the next morning. In consequence of this imprudence, in eating immoderately, after such extreme starvation from the want of provisions, about forty of the men became faint and sick during the first day's march. On the second day, however, the sufferers were met by a great number of their friends from the settlements to which they belonged, by whom they were amply supplied with provisions.

“Major Vernon, who succeeded Colonel Gibson in the command of fort Laurens, continued its possession until the next fall, when the garrison, after being, like their predecessors, reduced almost to starvation, evacuated the place.

“Thus ended the disastrous business of fort Laurens, in which much fatigue and suffering were endured, and many lives lost; but without any beneficial result to the country.”\*

\* Dodridge's Notes.

At the same time that M'Intosh was ordered against the Sandusky towns, Colonel Clark descended the river from Fort Pitt with a small force against the French settlements in Illinois; from which, it was supposed, many of the scalping parties that harassed Kentucky emanated, on account of the encouragement given them there. Landing below the Falls, Colonel Clark concealed his boats under the shelter of the high banks, and marched directly out towards Kaskaskia. Before reaching that place, however, their provisions, which they bore upon their backs, were exhausted; and for two days they were obliged to subsist on roots. But led on by a bold and intrepid officer, whose ardor was not to be damped by the privation, a like spirit was infused into the troops, and the march was pursued with unabated vigor.

“Arriving before Kaskaskia in the night, they entered it, unseen and unheard, and took possession of the town and fort without opposition. Relying on the thick and wide extended forests which interposed between them and the American settlements, the inhabitants had been lulled to repose by fancied security, and were unconscious of danger until it had become too late to be avoided. Not a single individual escaped to spread the alarm in the adjacent settlements.”

Leaving a portion of the troops to retain possession of Kaskaskia, Colonel Clark pushed forward against Cahokia and Fort Chartres higher on the Mississippi, which were reduced with like success. The governor of Kaskaskia was sent a prisoner to Virginia, accompanied by the written instructions obtained from him, which gave him British authority to instigate the Indians against the frontier settlements, promising a bounty for the blood they might shed.

So soon as the news of the surrender of the Illinois settlements reached Detroit, the governor made immediate preparations to march with a force to expel the victors. An army of six hundred, principally Indians, was soon raised, and the governor at their head set out against Clark. Proceeding by way of the Wabash, and arriving at Fort Vincent, on that stream, about the middle of December, it was deemed advisable, as the winter season had arrived, to remain here till the opening of spring, before marching against Kaskaskia.

The fort, which was rather in a dilapidated condition, was repaired; and most of the Indian forces sent out on predatory excursions against the frontiers.

Colonel Clark still remaining with his little army on the Mississippi, retaining possession of the towns he had captured, waited in the meanwhile with impatience for a reinforcement to be sent from the settlements which had been promised. An attempt at his expulsion was known as already projected, and it was deemed important to be prepared for the event. While thus waiting with extreme solicitude, a Spanish trader arrived from Fort Vincent, from whom he learned the weakened condition of the army there. In the midst of the enemy's country, and uncertain of succor, he felt the only probable surety was perhaps in continuing his attacks upon the enemy now in an unguarded and unprepared hour. He therefore at once resolved on a bold attempt at the reduction of Fort Vincent. A galley mounting two four-pounders and four swivels, manned by one company, was ordered round to ascend the Wabash. While Colonel Clark, taking with him as many of the troops as could be spared, proceeded by land across towards Fort Vincent. This was in the month of February, and on account of the many im-

pediments occasioned by inclemency of the weather, and crossing extensive swamps partially covered with ice, sixteen days had elapsed before they reached the Wabash.

On their arrival, the galley was found in await for them, a short distance below the town, undiscovered by the enemy. The troops having crossed, were marched early the next morning directly into the town, which was the first notice the inhabitants had of their approach; and awed by their unexpected presence, as it were, received them with cheerfulness, affording them hospitality and even aid in the attack on the fort. The assault was immediately commenced and kept up vigorously during the whole day with but little being effected.

During the night Colonel Clark threw up an entrenchment within rifle shot of the strongest battery of the fort, and in the morning poured with unerring aim such an incessant fire into the enemy's quarters, that in a few minutes a parley was called for; and a surrender followed. The governor with the whole garrison became prisoners of war, and a considerable quantity of military stores were the booty.

“History,” says the author of *Border Warfare*, “records but few enterprises which displays as strikingly the prominent features of military greatness, and evinces so much of the genius and daring which are necessary to their successful termination as this; while the motives which led to its delineation were such as must excite universal admiration. Bold and daring, yet generous and disinterested, Colonel Clark sought not his individual advancement in the prejection or execution of this campaign. It was not to gratify the longings of ambition, or an inordinate love of fame, that

prompted him to penetrate the Indian country to the Kaskaskia, nor that tempted him forth from thence, to war with the garrison of St. Vincent. He was not one of

“ Those worshippers of glory,  
Who bathe the earth in blood,  
And launch proud names for an after age,  
Upon the crimson flood.”

“ The distress and sufferings of the frontier of Virginia required that a period should be speedily put to them, to preserve the country from ravage and its inhabitants from butchery. Clark had seen and participated in that distress and those sufferings, and put in requisition every faculty of his mind and all the energies of his body, to alleviate and prevent them. Providence smiled on his undertaking, and his exertions were crowned with complete success. The plan which had been concerted for the ensuing campaign against the frontier of Virginia, threatening to involve the whole country west of the Allegheny mountains in destruction and death, was thus happily frustrated; and he who had been mainly instrumental in impelling the savages to war, and in permitting if not instigating them to the commission of the most atrocious barbarities, was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. So justly obnoxious had he rendered himself by his conduct, that a more than ordinary rigor was practised upon him; and by the orders of the governor of Virginia, the governor of Detroit was manacled with irons and confined in jail.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Military men in the west—Colonel Brodhead—Samuel Brady—Washington's letter—Brodhead's popularity with the Indians—Indian name conferred upon him—March of Canadian forces against the settlements of Kentucky—Colonel Brodhead's march against the Munsey towns on the Allegheny—His campaign against the Ohio Indians.

The present period was seemingly an era of military greatness in the western country. The daring exploits of Colonel Clark were doubtless as unprecedented by any prior to that time, as they have been since. The warmly contested battle of Point Pleasant had likewise been an exhibition of daring military spirit, which justly won for the commander a reputation, of which his talents were not unworthy. Yet, with all the commendation meted out to these valiant officers, it doubtless fell far short of what they were properly entitled to; as was the case with others about the same time.

This fact seems to have been instanced in Col. Brodhead, whom we have next to mention as occupying the military field in the west; who, though being presented no very favorable opportunities for the display of his abilities as an officer, nevertheless gave ample testimony of superior skill in contending with the enemy, and for the short time he remained in command of the Western Department, very correctly merited the gratitude of his countrymen.

It was while under his command that the notable Samuel Brady rose to distinction, and to him alone that

the adventurous "Captain of the spies" owed the secret of his success, on account of the characteristic shrewdness of the commander in pre-judging the movements of the Indians, and despatching the formidable avenger in a direction that failed not to secure a successful issue in case of an attack.

Brodhead, we are informed by a correspondent, was an officer in the British army before the Revolution, but on the occurrence of that event, warmly espoused the cause of liberty. He at first served under Washington with whom he became personally acquainted; and a warm friendship afterwards subsisted between them. In 1778 he held a Colonel's commission in the 8th Pennsylvania regiment; and in 1779, on General M'Intosh retiring from the command in the west, he received an appointment to fill his place. Washington, in a letter to him at the time, says:

"Congress, by a resolve of the 20th February, granted leave to General M'Intosh to retire from the command to the westward, and directed me to appoint an officer to succeed him. From my opinion of your abilities, your former acquaintance with the back country, and the knowledge you must have acquired upon this last tour of duty, I have appointed you to the command; but if you quit the post, I apprehend there will be no officer left of sufficient weight and ability. This is an opinion which I would wish you to keep to yourself, because it might give offence to officers in all other respects worthy of the stations they fill. I must, therefore, desire you to remain at Fort Pitt, and you shall from time to time be informed of every thing necessary for your government." He was at this time and until April, at Fort M'Intosh.

He must previously have acquired a reputation among

the Indians, for on the 9th day of April, 1779, in pursuance of a resolution of the Delaware Chiefs, they conferred on him the most distinguished favor they could in their opinion bestow. It seems that at this time a conference was being held at Fort Pitt of Delaware chiefs and others.

The Delawares, at a conference, say to the Great Warrior, Colonel Brodhead:—"Of our ancestors, the good men of our nation, we now hand you down a name, as we look upon you to be an upright man. You are henceforth called by us, the Delaware nation, the '*Great Moon*,' that is in Delaware, '*Maghingua Kee-shock*.' Hereafter our great grand children, yet unborn, when they come to the years of understanding, shall know that your name is handed down as their great grandfather. All the speeches you now send to the nations must be signed with your present name *Maghingua Keeshock*, and all the nations will address you by that name. There were five great good kings of our nation. One of their names you have. *Taimeneud* is another. We have yet two to bestow. Our ancestors, in former times, were of a good disposition, and on the cause of our now being as one man, we now place you in the same light with us. Now, hereafter perhaps, those of our nation yet unborn, are to know that that was the name of the ancestor, the good man and the great warrior of the thirteen United States, given to him by the chiefs of the Delaware nation, at the great council fire at Fort Pitt."

Colonel Brodhead was of tall stature, 'a fine noble looking man,' as our informant expresses it, with a strikingly bright, bland and open countenance, and a mirthful, laughing (so to speak) blue eye. It is to be regretted, that history records so little of a man to

whom the country was so much indebted; and that the time has now elapsed when an opportunity is no longer afforded to learn his history from those who were his acquaintances. Unhappily for his memory, his services though important were not of such a character as to place him the prominent actor in any very stirring events. It happened that no contests, on the issue of which the destinies of the country were known to depend, were fought under his command, and consequently his services, often of a different character, though great, were perhaps of humble report, and he, unintendedly, denied the meed of public praise that he was entitled to. At the time he took command in the west, the conflict between the colonies and Great Britain was somewhat abating, and his services rather consisted in holding the Indians in awe, and afterwards effecting treaties with them, consequent to peace likely to be made with their instigators.

Early in the summer of 1780, a most alarming expedition against the frontiers, was set on foot by Colonel Byrd, a British officer in command of Detroit. Having rendezvoused the warriors of the different nations northwest of the Ohio, with a small force of Canadians, two divisions were formed; one to operate against the settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and the other, under command of Byrd himself, to proceed against Kentucky. A most decisive blow, it was determined, should be struck, and the whole western frontier be subjugated. Prepared with the most destructive implements of warfare "from the war-club of the savages, to the cannon of their allies," the success of the campaign with such a formidable force, and with so great facilities, was scarcely doubted by them.

The gallant Colonel Clark, at this time, was station-

ed at the Falls of Ohio, on the Kentucky side, with a small force for the protection of the settlements in that neighborhood. Against this Colonel Byrd had resolved at first to march; but on arriving at the Ohio, his determination was changed, and instead of proceeding down to the point proposed, he ascended the Licking to its forks, with his fleet of canoes, where the troops and munitions of war were landed.

They were now in the neighborhood of a block-house and settlement, which was their object to surprise. The army, amounting to more than a thousand men, Canadians and Indians, were marched directly in front of the block-house, and a cannon leveled against it and discharged; which was the first notice the inhabitants had of the presence of an enemy. A flag was then sent in, demanding immediate surrender of the place. The defenceless situation of it, and not being intended to withstand the attack of artillery, rendered it useless to hold out. The surrender was therefore consented to on the terms they should be protected from the Indians, and be considered prisoners to the British. The proposition was agreed to; but no sooner were the gates thrown open than the savages rushed upon their victims, killing, scalping, and mangling them in the most horrible manner. Colonel Byrd was accused of the seeming treachery, but replied that it was not in his power to restrain the savages, nor was the dreadful havoc arrested till most of the unhappy inmates of the place had been despatched.

After committing other depredations, and securing quantities of plunder and many prisoners, the waters becoming low, the army descended the Licking to the Ohio, and returned to Detroit.

The detachment destined against the settlements of

Virginia and Pennsylvania, consisting entirely of Indians, and numbering above three hundred warriors, formed in two divisions on arriving near the Ohio. The one was to cross the river below Wheeling, and pass in a direction through the settlements towards Catfish-town, (since called Washington,) and the other to cross about sixty miles above Wheeling, and direct their march towards the same place, where a union of the two divisions was to take place, when a combined and deadly attack was to be made on the settlements.

Before a conjunction had taken place between the two divisions at the place appointed, they learned from the many prisoners already taken, that a force was collecting at Wheeling to march against them. A council was held by the chiefs, and it was determined to proceed no farther into the settlements, as their retreat might be intercepted by the whites. They, therefore, concluded to re-cross the Ohio, but before leaving the council ground they determined to kill all the male prisoners. The unfortunate victims were then led forth, and principally despatched with the tomahawk.

Upon the commission of these enormities, the exasperated inhabitants were resolved upon immediate revenge. Colonel Brodhead was earnestly solicited by Colonel Zane of Wheeling to send a force of the combined troops of that place and Fort Pitt against the Indians, who had now retired beyond the Ohio. Many depredations being committed about this time on the settlements in Westmoreland county, by parties of savages, supposed to emanate from the Munsey towns on the "north branch of the Allegheny." Colonel Brodhead was under preparation to leave with his troops against them, and gave orders that till he should return, troops should be collected at Wheeling for the contemplated campaign against the Indians in Ohio.

Of the particulars of Brodhead's expedition against the Munsey towns but few have reached us. Their corn, to the amount of two hundred acres, was entirely destroyed, and a party of forty warriors cut off who were on their way to the settlements in Westmoreland county.

Immediately after the return of the army from the Allegheny, a portion under Colonel Brodhead joined the troops that had rendezvoused at Wheeling; where preparations were made for a direct march against the Indians on the Muskingum. The army, numbering more than eight hundred, was soon under way.

When arrived near Salem, a Moravian town, it was with difficulty that the militia could be restrained from attacking the inhabitants. But these Indians were known to have been entirely friendly towards the whites; and under the influence of the missionaries, their every act betokened the peaceful lessons they were taught.

An encampment being made in the neighborhood, the Rev. Heckewelder, missionary of that place, was sent for by Colonel Brodhead, to whom the object of the expedition was explained, and a request made, that if any of their Indians were absent, they should be sent for, as they might not be designated from others, and were therefore liable to be attacked if met with in the woods.

The army now resumed its march, and proceeded towards the forks of the river.

Moving on with rapidity, Colonel Brodhead reached Coshocton, the first town, which was surrounded before the inhabitants were aware, and the whole taken prisoners. The other towns being on the opposite side of the river, against which they intended to proceed, and as the stream was much swollen with late rains, it was

deemed impracticable to attempt a passage of it. It was then thought expedient, though the objects of the campaign were by no means accomplished, to destroy the crops and return.

Shortly after the town had been captured an Indian appeared on the opposite bank of the river, and called for the "Big Captain," as they familiarly styled him. Colonel Brodhead inquired what he wanted. "I want peace," replied the Indian. "Send over some of your chiefs, then," replied Brodhead. "May be you kill," rejoined the Indian. "No; they shall not be killed," said the Colonel.

A chief of fine appearance and noble bearing then descended the bank and crossed over. It is stated by some, that while conversing with Colonel Brodhead, one of the militia came up to him, with a tomahawk concealed under his hunting-shirt, and struck him a blow on the back of the head, with which he fell to the ground and immediately expired. At what time he may have been killed, and by what means, there perhaps is no certainty, but it is true the exasperated feelings of the troops and their sworn enmity at the time to the savages, led to the loss of his life before he had returned. However it was by no means probable that he should be despatched by one of the common soldiers while in conversation with the chief commander of the expedition. An utter disregard of the penalty consequent to such an offence, it is presumable, was not to be evinced; but rather an opportunity sought for the commission of the act when the liability to punishment might be evaded.

It was now to be determined what was to be done with the prisoners. It happened that a friendly Delaware chief, called Pekillon, had accompanied Colonel

Brodhead from the frontiers, who being acquainted with the character of most of the prisoners, was enabled, by request, to designate those who had more particularly rendered themselves obnoxious to the whites, by their merciless depredations. Sixteen of these were pointed out, who, by a council held to determine on their fate, were doomed to death. They were accordingly taken out some distance from the town, and killed and scalped. The remaining captives were placed under the care of the militia, to be taken to Fort Pitt. But unhappily for them, the vindictive feeling which rankled in the bosoms of their escort, awakened perhaps by a recollection of the butchery of their own neighbors and the relatives, likely of some of them, called for a retribution that was only to be had in their death. They had not proceeded far from Coshocton, when, perhaps in the absence of their commander, they fell upon the prisoners and killed all but a few women and children, who were taken to Fort Pitt, and afterwards exchanged.

We now return to retrace the results of Byrd's operations in Kentucky. So soon as the intelligence of the attack reached Colonel Clark at the Falls, and was made known somewhat through the settlements by despatching runners, it was resolved to raise all the troops that could be obtained, and pursue the Indians.

Boats being built and provisions prepared, the troops ascended the river to a point where Cincinnati now stands. Numbering nine hundred and seventy men, under the command of Colonel Clark, they took up the line of march directly across the country for Chillicothe. Arriving, the town was found to be burnt and abandoned; many of the cabins still smoking from being lately fired. Several hundred acres of corn, growing luxuriantly around it, were destroyed.

From this place the army marched against the Piqua towns, a distance of about twelve miles farther. The Indians, aware of the approach of Colonel Clark, had retired from Chillicothe to make a combined attack here if pursued. On the arrival of the troops, the Indians, with the notable Simon Girty at their head, numbering three hundred warriors, were in readiness for them. A battle ensued, and the contest was warm for some hours. But such was the desperation with which Col. Clark's men fought, that Girty declaring it useless to fight with "fools and madmen," as he termed them, relinquished the attack. The loss on both sides was about equal. The town was burnt, and the crops destroyed, and the army returned.

## CHAPTER XXII.

**Moravian Campaign**—Causes that led to it—Their inhabitants principally murdered—Crawford's campaign—Encouragement to volunteers—Insubordination of the troops on the way—Battle at Sandusky—Retreat of Crawford's men, and dispersion—Crawford and Knight taken prisoners—Simon Girty—Crawford burnt—Knight sent to the Shawnee towns—His escape and arrival at Fort M'Intosh.

The memorable campaign against the Moravian Indians took place in the spring of 1782. The causes which led to it, was a supposition that they had been concerned in murders lately committed on the frontiers. Their towns were on the Muskingum, intermediate between the settlements of the whites and the Sandusky and other disaffected Indians; and on account of the murders alluded to, being perpetrated early in the season, before it was thought the hostile Indians had time to arrive from their distant winter quarters, led to the conclusion that the Moravian Indians had either committed them, or that they had given protection during the winter to those who had.

Immediately after the attack on the frontiers, a party of eighty or ninety men rendezvoused at the Mingo Bottom, some sixty miles below Fort Pitt, and marched directly to the Moravian towns; where, after the inhabitants had been secured prisoners, and the vote of the company taken to determine on their fate, an indiscriminate slaughter took place. A few who happily escaped fled to Sandusky.

This indiscriminate murder of the Moravians, though

not warranted by the positive committal of any offence was exulted over, and even generally applauded on the frontiers.

These unfortunate people had alike been the subject of suspicion with both the whites and the Indians. Some time prior to this they had been attacked by a party of Wyandots and severely treated, on account of being suspected for lending aid to the whites.

Depredations still continuing to be made from time to time on the settlements, after the return from the Moravian campaign, it was determined a force should be raised and marched against the Sandusky Indians, who seemed the most active in keeping up the warfare; when an opportunity would likewise be had to come up with the remaining Moravians.

The requisite force was proposed to be raised principally in Western Pennsylvania. And in order that the ranks might be filled, the commandants of the militia in Washington and Westmoreland counties proposed to the inhabitants, that all who would volunteer, furnishing their own horses, provisions, and guns, for a month, should be free from two tours of militia duty; and any horses unavoidably lost in the expedition should be replaced from those taken from the Indians.

The troops, high in spirits, and numbering more than four hundred, assembled on the 20th of May at the Mingo Bottom, where they were to select a leader. Colonel William Crawford of Westmoreland county was unanimously chosen.

“Crawford,” says Mr. McClurg, whose excellent account of the expedition we quote as perhaps the most satisfactory met with, “instantly accepted the appointment, which had been so unanimously pressed upon him, and a few days before the day of rendezvous, pas-

sed through Pittsburgh, on his way to the appointed place. He there prevailed upon Dr. Knight to accompany the detachment as surgeon, and having provided such medical stores as were likely to be useful on the expedition, he lost no time in putting himself at the head of the troops.

“On Saturday, the 25th of May, the little army commenced its march, striking at once into a pathless wilderness, and directing their course due west. On the fourth day, they halted at the ruins of the old Moravian town, about sixty miles from the Ohio, where a few of the volunteers gave a sample of the discipline which was to be expected from the party, by abandoning the detachment and returning home. The main body, however, still seemed eager to prosecute the expedition, and the march was continued with unabated spirit. On the morning of the 30th, Major Brunton and Captain Bean, being a few hundred yards in advance of the troops, observed two Indians skulking through the woods, apparently observing the motions of the detachment. They instantly fired upon them, but without success. Secrecy now being out of the question, it only remained to press forward with all practicable despatch, and afford the enemy as little time for preparation as possible. As the wilderness began to darken around them, and the moment approached in which their courage would be tried, it became evident that the ardor of the men was considerably cooled.

“On the eleventh day of their march, they reached the spot where the town of Sandusky had formerly stood, but from which the Indians had lately removed to a spot about eighteen miles below. Here the detachment halted, and here the insubordinate spirit of the army first displayed itself. They insisted upon returning

home, alleging the tired condition of their horses, and the fact that their provisions were likely soon to be exhausted. The officers, yielding to the wishes of their constituents, (for the troops had elected their own officers,) determined, in council, that they would continue their march for one day longer, and if no Indians appeared, they would then return home! What other results than these which we are now about to record, could have been anticipated from such officers and such men?

“Just as the council broke up, a single light-horseman, belonging to the advanced guard rode in at a gallop, announcing that a large body of Indians were formed in an open wood, a few miles in advance, and seemed determined to arrest the farther progress of the invaders. Instant preparations were made for battle. The troops, notwithstanding their previous murmurs, advanced with alacrity, and soon came up with the light horsemen, who were slowly retiring within view of the enemy. The country was generally open, and well adapted to the operations of cavalry. Here and there a thin copse of woodland appeared, generally free from undergrowth, and giving to each party a full view of their enemy’s movements. The Indians had partially obtained possession of one of these copses, although their full force had not yet come up. The importance of seizing the wood was instantly seen, and Crawford hastily ordered his men to dismount, tie their horses, and force the enemy from their position before their reinforcements could arrive. This judicious order was promptly and effectually obeyed. Both flanks of the Indian position was immediately turned, and a rapid and threatening movement upon their front quickly compelled them to give way. Crawford now took posses-

sion of the wood, but scarcely had he done so, when the main body of the enemy hurried up to the assistance of their van, and outflanking Crawford in turn, opened a heavy and galling fire upon his men, from which they found it very difficult to obtain proper shelter. The action now became sharp and serious; Crawford maintaining his ground, and the enemy, (who were hourly increasing in number,) making the most strenuous efforts to regain the wood. From four in the evening until dusk, the firing was very heavy, and the loss considerable. During the whole of this time, scarcely an Indian was visible, unless for a moment, when shifting his position. Their number could only be ascertained from the many wreaths of smoke, which arose from every bush, tree, or tuft of grass within view. At night the enemy drew off, and Crawford's party slept upon their arms upon the field of battle.

"On the next day the attack was renewed, but at a more respectful distance. The Indians had apparently sustained some loss on the close firing of the preceding evening, and seemed now determined to await the arrival of additional reinforcements. Occasional shots were fired through the day on both sides, but without much injury to either. As soon as it was dark, the field officers assembled in council; and, as the numbers of the enemy were evidently increasing every moment, it was unanimously determined to retreat by night, as rapidly as was consistent with order, and the preservation of the wounded. The resolution was quickly announced to the troops, and the necessary dispositions made for carrying it into effect. The outposts were silently withdrawn from the vicinity of the enemy, and as fast as they come in, the troops were formed in three parallel lines, with the wounded borne upon biers in

the center. By nine o'clock at night, all necessary arrangements had been made, and the retreat began in good order. Unfortunately, they had scarcely moved a hundred paces, when the report of several rifles were heard in the rear, in the direction of the Indian encampment. The troops soon became very unsteady. At length a solitary voice, in the front rank, called out that their design was discovered, and that the Indians would soon be upon them. Nothing more was necessary. The cavalry were instantly broken; and, as usual, each man endeavored to save himself as he best could. A prodigious uproar ensued, which quickly communicated to the enemy, that the white men had routed themselves, and that they had nothing to do but pick up stragglers. The miserable wounded, notwithstanding the piercing cries with which they supplicated to be taken with them, were abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, and soon put out of pain.

“Dr. Knight, the surgeon of the detachment, was in the rear when the flight commenced, but seeing the necessity of despatch, he put spurs to his horse and galloped through the wood as fast as the darkness of the night would permit. He had not advanced more than three hundred yards, when he heard the voice of Colonel Crawford, a short distance in front, calling aloud for his son John Crawford, his son-in-law Major Harrison, and his two nephews, Major Rose and William Crawford. Dr. Knight replied in the same loud tone, that he believed the young men were in front. ‘Is that you, Doctor?’ asked Crawford, eagerly; for no features could be recognised in the darkness. ‘Yes, Colonel! I am the hindmost man I believe!’ ‘No, No!’ replied Crawford, anxiously, ‘my son is in the rear yet: I have not been able to hear of him in front! Do not leave me Doctor,

my horse has almost given out; I cannot keep up with the troops, and wish a few of my best friends to stay with me!" Knight assured him, that he might rely upon his support in any extremity, and drew up his horse by his side. Colonel Crawford still remained upon the same spot, calling loudly for his son, until the last straggler had passed. He then in strong language reprobated the conduct of the militia, in breaking their ranks, and abandoning the wounded, but quickly returned to the subject of his son, and appeared deeply agitated at the uncertainty of his fate. Perceiving, however, that further delay must terminate in death or captivity, the party set spurs to their horses and followed the route of the troops. Presently an old man and a lad joined them. Crawford eagerly asked if they had seen his son or nephews? They assured him that they had not, upon which he sighed deeply, but made no reply. At this instant, a heavy fire was heard at the distance of a mile in front, accompanied by yells, screams, and all the usual attendants of battle. Not a doubt was entertained that the Indians had intercepted the retreat of the main body, and were now engaged with them. Having lost all confidence in his men, Crawford did not choose to unite his fortune to theirs, and changed his course to the northward, in such a manner as to leave the combatants upon the right. He continued in this direction for nearly an hour, until he supposed himself out of the immediate line of the enemy's operations, when he again changed his course to the eastward, moving as rapidly as possible, with an interval of twenty paces between them, and steadily regulating their route by the north star. The boy who accompanied them was brisk and active, but the old man constantly lagged behind, and as constantly shouted aloud for them

to wait for him. They often remonstrated with him on the impropriety of making so much noise, at a time when all their lives depended upon secrecy and celerity, and he repeatedly promised to do so no more.

“ At length, upon crossing Sandusky creek, the old man found himself once more considerably in the rear, and once more shouted aloud for them to wait until he could come up. Before they could reply, a halloo was heard in the rear of their left, and apparently not more than one hundred paces from the spot where the old man stood. Supposing it to be the cry of an Indian, they remained still and silent for several minutes, looking keenly around them, in the expectation of beholding an enemy. Every thing, however, continued silent. The old man was heard no more, and whether he escaped, or was killed, could never be ascertained. The party continued their flight until daybreak, when Colonel Crawford’s horse and that of the boy, sunk under their riders, and were abandoned. Continuing their journey on foot, they quickly fell in with Captain Biggs, an expert woodsman and gallant officer, who, in the universal scattering, had generously brought off a wounded officer, Lieutenant Ashley, upon his own horse, and was now composedly walking by his side, with a rifle in his hand and a knapsack upon his shoulders. This casual meeting was gratifying to both parties, and they continued their journey with renewed spirits. At three o’clock in the afternoon a heavy rain fell, and compelled them to encamp. A temporary shelter was quickly formed by barking several trees, after the manner of the Indians, and spreading the bark over poles so as to form a roof. A fire was then kindled, and the rain continued to pour down in torrents. They remained here through the night without any accident.

"Continuing their route on the following morning, at the distance of three miles from the camp, they found a deer, which had recently been killed and skinned. The meat was neatly sliced and bundled up in the skin—and a tomahawk lay near—giving room for suspicion that Indians were in the neighborhood. As the whole party had fasted for thirty-six hours, this was a very acceptable treat, and lifting the skin, with the meat enclosed from the ground, they carried it with them until they had leisure to cook it. Having advanced a mile further, they observed a smoke in the woods before them. The party instantly halted, while Colonel Crawford and Dr. Knight advanced to reconnoiter. Cautiously approaching the fire, they found it burning brightly, but abandoned, from which they inferred that a party had encamped there the preceding night, and had retired a few minutes before their approach. Having carefully examined the bushes around, and discovered no Indian sign, they directed their friends in the rear to come up, and quickly set about preparing breakfast. In a few minutes they observed a white man skulking in the rear examining the trail, and apparently very shy of approaching them. Calling out to him in a friendly tone, they invited him to approach without fear, assuring him that they were countrymen and friends. The man instantly complied, and informed them that he had killed the deer which they were cooking, but hearing them approach he had taken them for enemies, and had fled into the bushes for concealment. Highly pleased at this further accession to their strength, the party breakfasted heartily upon the deer, and continued their march. By noon they had reached the path by which the army had marched a few days before in their advance upon the Indian towns, and

some discussion took place as to the propriety of taking that road homeward. Biggs and the doctor strenuously insisted upon continuing their course through the woods and avoiding all paths, but Crawford overruled them, assuring them that the Indians would not urge the pursuit beyond the plains, which were already far behind. Unfortunately the colonel prevailed; and abandoning their due eastern course, the party pursued the beaten path. Crawford and Knight moved one hundred and fifty yards in front, Biggs and his wounded friend Ashley were in the center, both on horseback, the doctor having lent Biggs his horse, and the two men on foot brought up the rear.

“ They soon had reason to repent their temerity. Scarcely had they advanced a mile, when several Indians sprung up within twenty yards of Knight and Crawford, presented their guns, and in good English ordered them to stop. Knight instantly sprung behind a large black oak, cocked his gun and began to take aim at the foremost. Crawford, however, did not attempt to conceal himself—but calling hastily to Knight, ordered him twice not to fire. Instantly the Indian, at whom Knight had taken aim, ran up to the colonel with every demonstration of friendship, shook his hand cordially, and asked him how he did. Knight still maintaining a hostile attitude behind the tree, Crawford called to him again, and ordered him to put down his gun, which the doctor very reluctantly obeyed.

“ Biggs and Ashley, seeing the condition of their friends, halted, while the two men in the rear very prudently took to their heels and escaped. One of the Indians then told Crawford to order Biggs to come up and surrender or they would kill him. The colonel complied, but Biggs, feeling no inclination to obey his com-

mander in the present instance, very coolly cocked his rifle, took deliberate aim at one of the Indians, and fired, although without effect. He and Ashly then put spurs to their horses and for the time escaped. The two prisoners were then taken to the Indian camp, which stood within a few miles of the place where they were taken; and on the next evening five Delawares came in with the scalps and horses of Biggs and Ashly, who it appeared had returned to the road, and were intercepted a few miles further on.

"On the morning, which was the tenth of June, Crawford and Knight, together with nine more prisoners, were conducted by their captors, seventeen in number, to the old town of Sandusky, about thirty-three miles distant. The main body halted at night within eight miles of the village, but as Colonel Crawford expressed great anxiety to speak with Simon Girty, who was then at Sandusky, he was permitted to go on that evening, under the care of two Indians. On Tuesday morning the 11th of June, Colonel Crawford was brought back from Sandusky on purpose to march into town with the other prisoners. Knight eagerly accosted him, and asked if he had seen Girty? The colonel replied in the affirmative; and added, that Girty had promised to use his utmost influence for his (the colonel's) safety, but was fearful of the consequences, as the Indians generally, and particularly Captain Pipe, one of the Delaware chiefs, were much incensed against the prisoners, and were endeavoring to have them all burned. The colonel added, that he had heard of his son-in-law, Colonel Harrison, and his nephew, William Crawford, both of whom had been taken by the Shawnees, and admitted to mercy. Shortly after this communication, their capital enemy, Captain Pipe, appear-

ed. His appearance was by no means unprepossessing, and he exhibited none of the ferocity which Knight, from Girty's account, had been led to expect. On the contrary, his manners were bland and his language flattering. But one ominous circumstance attended his visit. With his own hands he painted every prisoner black! While in the act of painting the doctor, he was as polite as a French valet, assuring him that he should soon go to the Shawnee town and see his friends; and while painting the colonel, he told him that his head should be shaved, *i. e.*, he should be adopted as soon as he arrived at the Wyandot town. As soon as the prisoners were painted they were conducted towards the town, Captain Pipe walking by the side of Crawford and treating him with the utmost kindness, while the other prisoners, with the exception of Dr. Knight, were pushed on ahead of him. As they advanced, they were shocked at observing the bodies of four of their friends who had just left them lying near the path, tomahawked and scalped, with an interval of nearly a mile between each. They had evidently perished in running the gauntlet. This spectacle was regarded as a sad presage of their own fate. In a short time they overtook the five prisoners who remained alive. They were seated on the ground, and appeared much dejected. Nearly seventy squaws and Indian boys surrounded them, menacing them with knives and tomahawks, and exhausting upon them every abusive epithet which their language afforded. Crawford and Knight were compelled to sit down apart from the rest, and immediately afterwards the doctor was given to a Shawnee warrior to be conducted to their town, while the colonel remained stationary.

“ The boys and squaws then fell upon the other pris-

oners, and tomahawked them in a moment. Among them was Captain M'Kinley, who had served with reputation throughout the revolutionary war until the capture of Cornwallis. An old withered hag approached him brandishing a long knife, and seizing him by the hair instantly cut off his head and kicked it near the spot where Crawford sat, in momentary expectation of a similar fate. Another destiny however was reserved for him. After having sufficiently exhausted their rage upon the lifeless bodies of the five prisoners, the whole party started up, and driving Crawford before them, marched towards the village.

“Presently Girty appeared on horseback coming from Sandusky. He stopped for a few moments and spoke to Crawford, then passing to the rear of the party addressed Knight: ‘Is this the doctor?’ inquired he, with an insulting smile. ‘Yes! Mr. Girty, I am glad to see you!’ replied poor Knight, advancing towards him, and anxiously extending his hand. But Girty cursed him in a savage tone, ordered him to be gone, and not to suppose that he would give his hand to such a — rascal. Upon this the Shawnee warrior who had him in custody dragged him by a rope. Girty followed on horseback, and informed him that he was to go to Chillicothe. Presently they came to a spot where there was a large fire, around which about thirty warriors, and more than double that number of boys and squaws were collected.

“As soon as the colonel arrived they surrounded him, stripped him naked, and compelled him to sit on the ground near the fire. They then fell upon him and beat him severely with sticks and their fists. In a few minutes a large stake was fixed in the ground, and piles of hickory poles rather thicker than a man’s thumb, and

about twelve feet in length, were spread around it. Colonel Crawford's hands were then tied behind his back; a strong rope was produced, one end of which was fastened to the ligature between his wrists, and the other tied to the bottom of the stake. The rope was long enough to permit him to walk around the stake several times and then return. Fire was then applied to the hickory poles, which lay in piles at the distance of six or seven yards from the stake.

"The colonel observing these terrible preparations called to Girty, who sat on horseback at the distance of a few yards from the fire, and asked if the Indians were going to burn him. Girty very coolly replied in the affirmative. The colonel heard the intelligence with firmness, merely observing that he would bear it with fortitude. When the hickory poles had been burnt asunder in the middle, Captain Pipe arose and addressed the crowd in a tone of great energy and animated gestures, pointing frequently to the colonel, who regarded him with an appearance of unruffled composure. As soon as he had ended a loud whoop burst from the assembled throng, and they all rushed at once upon the unfortunate Crawford. For several seconds the crowd was so great around him, that Knight could not see what they were doing; but in a short time they had dispersed sufficiently to give him a view of the colonel. His ears had been cut off, and the blood was streaming down each side of his face. A terrible scene of torture now commenced. The warriors shot charges of powder into his naked body, commencing with the calves of his legs and continuing to his neck. The boys snatched the burning hickory poles and applied them to his flesh. As fast as he ran around the stake to avoid one party of tormentors, he was promptly met at every

turn by others with burning poles, red hot irons, and rifles loaded with powder only; so that in a few minutes nearly one hundred charges of powder had been shot into his body, which had become black and blistered in a dreadful manner. The squaws would take up a quantity of coals and hot ashes and throw them upon his body, so that in a few minutes he had nothing but fire to walk upon.

“In the extremity of his agony the unhappy colonel called aloud upon Girty, in tones which rang through Knight’s brain with maddening effect: ‘Girty! Girty!! shoot me through the heart!! Quick! quick!! Do not refuse me!!’ ‘Don’t you see I have no gun, colonel?’ replied the monster, bursting into a loud laugh, and then turning to an Indian beside him, he uttered some brutal jests upon the naked and miserable appearance of the prisoner. While this awful scene was being acted, Girty rode up to the spot where Dr. Knight stood, and told him that he now had a foretaste of what was in reserve for him at the Shawnee towns. He swore that he need not expect to escape death, but should suffer it in all the extremity of torture!

“Knight, whose mind was deeply agitated at the sight of the fearful scene before him, took no notice of Girty, but preserved an impenetrable silence. Girty, after coldly contemplating the colonel’s sufferings for a few moments, turned again to Knight, and indulged in a bitter invective against a certain Colonel Gibson, from whom he said he had received deep injury; and dwelt upon the delight with which he would see him undergo such torments as those which Crawford was then suffering. He observed in a taunting tone, that most of the prisoners had said that the white people would not injure him, if the chance of war was to throw him into

their power; but that for his own part he should be loath to try the experiment. 'I think (added he with a laugh) that they would roast me alive with more pleasure than those red fellows are now broiling the colonel! What is your opinion, doctor? Do you think they would be glad to see me?' Still Knight made no answer, and in a few minutes Girty rejoined the Indians.

"The terrible scene had now lasted more than two hours, and Crawford had become much exhausted. He walked slowly around the stake, spoke in a low tone, and earnestly besought God to look with compassion upon him, and pardon his sins. His nerves had lost much of their sensibility, and he no longer shrunk from the firebrands with which they incessantly touched him. At length he sunk in a fainting fit upon his face, and lay motionless. Instantly an Indian sprung upon his back, knelt lightly upon one knee, made a circular incision with his knife upon the crown of his head, and clapping the knife between his teeth, tore the scalp off with both hands. Scarcely had this been done when a withered hag approached with a board full of burning embers, and poured them upon the crown of his head, now laid bare to the bone. The colonel groaned deeply, arose, and again walked slowly around the stake! But why continue a description so horrible? Nature at length could endure no more, and at a late hour in the night, he was released by death from the hands of his tormentors.

"At sun-set Dr. Knight was removed from the ground and taken to the house of Captain Pipe, where, after having been securely bound, he was permitted to sleep unmolested. On the next morning, the Indian fellow to whose care he had been committed, unbound him, again painted him black, and told him he must instantly

march off for the Shawnee village. The doctor was a small, weak man, and had sunk much under the hardship to which he had been exposed; and this, probably, was the cause of his having been committed unbound to the guardianship of a single Indian. They quickly left Sandusky, and in a few minutes passed by the spot where Crawford had been tortured. His flesh had been entirely consumed, and his bones, half burnt and blackened by the fire, lay scattered around the stake. The Indian fellow who guarded him, uttered the scalp halloo, as he passed the spot, and insultingly told Knight, that 'these were the bones of his Big Captain!' Knight was on foot, the Indian mounted on a pony and well armed, yet the doctor determined to effect his escape, or compel his enemy to shoot him dead upon the spot.

"The awful torture which Crawford had undergone had left a deep impression upon his mind. The savage intimation of Girty was not forgotten; and he regarded death, by shooting, as a luxury compared with the protracted agony of the stake. Anxious, however, to lull the suspicious temper of the Indian, who appeared to be extremely vigilant, he spoke to him in a cheerful, confident tone, and pretended to be entirely ignorant of the fate which awaited him at the Shawnee town. He found the fellow very sociable, and apparently as simple as he could wish. Upon his asking if they were not to live together in the same cabin, like brothers, as soon as they arrived at the end of their journey, the Indian seemed pleased, and replied, 'yes.' He then asked the doctor if he could make a wigwam? The doctor boldly asserted that he was a capital workman in wood, and could build a wigwam, to which their most spacious council-houses were mere hovels. This assertion evidently elevated him in the Indian's esteem, and they

continued to chat in a very friendly manner, each probably thinking that he had made a dupe of the other.

“ After traveling about twenty-five miles, they encamped for the night, when Knight permitted himself to be bound. The Indian then informed him, that they would reach the Shawnee village about the middle of the next day, and seemed to compose himself to rest. Knight frequently attempted to untie himself, but was as often frustrated by the incessant vigilance of the Indian, whose dark eyes were rolling around him throughout the whole night. At daylight, the Indian arose and unbound his prisoner, who instantly determined to attempt an escape without further delay. His conductor did not immediately leave the spot, but began to rekindle their fire which had burned low, and employed himself diligently in giving battle to the myriads of gnats that swarmed around him, and fastened upon his naked body with high relish. Knight seeing him rub his back with great energy, muttering petulantly in the Indian tongue, asked if he should make a smoke behind him, in order to drive the gnats away. The Indian told him to do so, and Knight arising from his seat, took the end of a dogwood fork about eighteen inches in length, and putting a coal of fire between it and another stick, went behind the Indian as if to kindle a fire. Gently laying down the coal, he paused a moment to collect his strength, and then struck the Indian a furious blow upon the back of the head, with the dogwood stick. The fellow stumbled forward, and fell with his hands in the fire, but instantly rising again, ran off with great rapidity, howling most dismally. Knight instantly seized the rifle which his enemy had abandoned and pursued him, intending to shoot him dead on the spot, and thus prevent pursuit; but in drawing back the cock of the

gun too violently, he injured it so much that it would not go off; and the Indian frightened out of his wits, and leaping and dodging with the activity of a wild cat, at length effected his escape.

“On the same day about noon, as Knight afterwards learned from a prisoner who effected his escape, the Indian arrived at the Shawnee village, with his head dreadfully cut and his legs torn by the briers. He proved to be a happy mixture of the braggadocio and coward, and treated his fellows with a magnificent description of his contest with Knight, whom he represented as a giant in stature, (five feet seven inches!) and a buffalo in strength and fierceness. He said that Knight prevailed upon him to untie him, and that while they were conversing like brothers, and while he himself was suspecting no harm, his prisoner suddenly seized a dogwood sapling, and belabored him, now on this side of his head, now on the other, (here his gestures were very lively,) until he was scarcely able to stand! That, nevertheless, he made a manful resistance, and stabbed his gigantic antagonist twice, once in the back, and once in the belly, but seeing that his knife made no impression upon the strength of the prisoner, he was at length compelled to leave him, satisfied that the wounds which he had inflicted must at length prove mortal. The Indians were much diverted at his account of the affair, and laughed loud and long, evidently not believing a syllable of the tale—at least so far as his own prowess was concerned.

“In the mean time, Knight finding it useless to pursue the Indian, to whom terror had lent wings, hastily returned to the fire, and taking the Indian’s blanket, moccasons, bullet-bag and powder horn, lost no time in moving off, directing his course towards the north-east.

About half an hour by sun he came to the plains already mentioned, which were about sixteen miles wide. Not choosing to cross them by daylight, he lay down in the high grass until dark, then guided by the north star, he crossed them rapidly, and before daylight had reached the woods on the other side. Without halting for a moment, he continued his march until late in the afternoon, crossing nearly at right angles the path by which the troops had advanced, and moving steadily to the northward, with the hope of avoiding the enemy who might still be lingering upon the rear of the troops.

“In the evening he felt very faint and hungry, having tasted nothing for three days, and very little since his captivity. Wild gooseberries grew very abundantly in the woods, but being still green, they required mastication, which he was unable to perform, his jaws having been much injured by a blow from the back of a tomahawk. There was a weed, however, which grew in the woods, the juice of which was grateful to the palate, and nourishing to the body. Of this he sucked plentifully, and finding himself much refreshed, was enabled to continue his journey. Supposing that he had now advanced sufficiently to the northward to baffle his pursuers, he changed his course, and steered due east.

“Wishing, if possible, to procure some animal food, he often attempted to rectify the lock of his gun, supposing that it was only wood-bound, but having no knife, he was unable to unscrew it, and was at length reluctantly compelled to throw it away as a useless burden. His jaw rapidly recovered, and he was enabled to chew green gooseberries, upon which, together with two young unfledged black birds, and one land terrapin, (both devoured raw,) he managed to subsist twenty-one days. He swam the Muskingum a few miles below

fort Lawrence, and crossing all paths, directed his steps to the Ohio river. He struck it a few miles below fort M'Intosh, on the evening of the twenty-first day, and on the morning of the twenty-second reached the fort in safety."

Thus ended this unfortunate expedition. Of the many that became separated from the main body in the retreat, but one other than Knight was known to have escaped and reached the settlements; and near one hundred in all was found to be missing.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

Sketch of Colonel Crawford—Indian council at Chillicothe—Girty's speech—Attack on Bryant's station—Battle of the Blue Licks—Wheeling besieged—Adam Poe—close of the Revolutionary War—Pittsburgh laid off—Hannah's town burnt—Earliest settlements in Ohio—First newspaper west of the mountains—Pittsburgh, a seat of justice.

When the news of the unhappy fate of Colonel Crawford reached the settlements, a gloom was spread on every countenance, and his melancholy end lamented by all that knew him. There were but few men on the frontiers at that time, whose loss could have been more sensibly felt, or would likely have been more deeply deplored. He had long been an active warrior against the savages, and the importance of his services had been generally known and acknowledged.

He might be said to have been among the earliest pioneers of the west. As early as 1767, equipped with his knapsack and rifle, he set out from his home in Berkeley county, Virginia, and striking into the road which the unfortunate Braddock had traveled a few years before with his army, he pursued his way "solitary and alone," to visit the country and fix upon a spot for his future residence. The location he chose was where the road he traced crossed the Youghiogheny, still known as *Braddock's Ford*.

Here he at once built his cabin, and returning home emigrated with his family to it the ensuing year. Situated in this remote region, where the trader, the traveler and weary pioneer passed on their way to the more distant west, and seldom failed to call at his humble residence, his acquaintance soon became extended, while

his singular good nature and unbounded hospitaliyy, won him the friendship and gratitude of all that became acquainted with him.

During the French war he had distinguished himself for his brave and gallant conduct, by which he became known to General Washington, who, as a testimony of the estimation in which he held his talents, secured for him an ensigncy. When the revolutionary struggle commenced, he proved himself not unworthy his reputation as a soldier and a patriot. By his own exertions he raised a regiment, and held the commission of Colonel in the regular army at the time of his unfortunate campaign to Sandusky.

The site of Colonel Crawford's cabin is still pointed out to the inquiring stranger. A few decayed logs of the once hospitable abode are, however, all that is to be seen.

His son, son-in-law and nephews, for whom he expressed so much anxiety in the retreat, before he was taken prisoner, were captured and all destroyed.

The savages soon after this, perhaps emboldened with their late success, and instigated by Girty, M'Kee and others that had taken refuge among them, determined on a grand campaign against the settlements. Accordingly all the nations principally of the west and north-west, rendezvoused towards the close of summer, at Chillicothe, for the purpose of combining and determining on the places for the attacks.

When the warriors had all arrived, a grand council was held. Girty was the principal speaker, and gave a most animated harangue. "He represented Kentucky as the land of cane and clover, that every year spontaneously sprang up and incessantly grew, without labor or care, to feed the Buffalo, the elk and the deer,

where these, the beaver, the bear and the racoon, were always fat, and where all the Indians from all the tribes, had a right, from time immemorial, to hunt and kill as many of these animals as they wanted, without being molested by white men, and of bringing away their skins with which to buy some clothes and blankets to put on their backs; and rum to send down their throats to drive away the cold and make their hearts glad after the fatigue of hunting or of war. That now the Long Knives—once the children of their great father over the big water, who had rebelled against him and held him at defiance—had intruded themselves into these hunting-grounds; were overrunning the country and calling it their own. That they were breaking the cane, treading down the clover, killing the buffalo, the deer, the bear and the beaver, or driving them away from the land. That these new-comers were building houses and making roads where the Indian war-path used to be; that they were ploughing the ground and planting fruit trees where very lately the cane stood and the clover blossomed; that they were again measuring the land, and that, unless they were driven away or exterminated, the red men might bid adieu to the country—to the delicious meat with which it once abounded, and the skins and furs that purchased their clothing and their rum, or fed their women and their children.

“That the present was the time to do the great work when the red brothers had assembled from the four winds of the sky, and were joined by their white brothers of the lake, and before the Long-Knives had made themselves too strong, as they soon would be, unless driven off or killed. Besides, count your numbers—you are strong. Look at one another—the warrior sees himself in each other’s eyes. Your guns are good,

your flint sharp, your tomahawks keen and your moccasons new. This is the time. Even the Great Spirit, that gave you the country, and filled it with game for your use, has also given you health and strength for the enterprise. Be not wanting to yourselves, and he will insure you success. Moreover, every warrior may take as many scalps and prisoners as he pleases, and as much plunder as his cabin can hold—that, after killing all the men, the women will be glad to become your wives, and raise up young warriors for you to present with the bow.”\*

When the council closed the warriors were divided into two parties; one designed to operate against the settlements of Kentucky, and the other the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania; for which places they immediately marched off. Girty, at the head of the larger party, proceeded to Kentucky, and appeared before Bryant's station, on the south branch of Licking, where a regular siege was commenced, with occasional attempts at its reduction, till a reinforcement reached it from Lexington, which they endeavored to cut off, but failing in this, and becoming hopeless, as would seem, another expedient was resorted to.

In the dusk of the evening Girty alone approached the fort, and mounting on a large stump demanded a surrender; which he said motives of humanity had prompted him to do, for during that night an additional force was to arrive with cannon, when they could not fail to capture the place, and the consequence would be an indiscriminate massacre, for he would not be able to restrain the Indians; but if they would surrender at his solicitation he could guarantee them protection.

\* History of Kentucky.

He then inquired "if they knew who was addressing them."

One of the young men in the fort replied, that he "knew him well, and held him in such contempt, that he had named a worthless dog which he had, Simon Girty; that his reinforcements and threats were not heeded by the garrison, who expected to receive before morning such an auxiliary force as would enable them to give a good account of the cowardly wretches that followed him, whom he held in such contempt that he had prepared a number of switches with which to drive them out of the country if they remained there till day."

Girty finding his stratagem would not succeed retired, and during the night marched off in a homeward direction.

Immediately afterwards a party of one hundred and sixty men collected at Bryant's station, and determined to pursue the Indians. At a place called the Blue Licks they were overtaken, when a battle ensued, and the whites routed with great loss. Sixty-one are said to have been killed and several taken prisoners.

Shortly after the Indians had retired to their towns, an army of near one thousand men was marched by Colonel Clark against them. But learning of his approach they fled before him, and nothing retaliatory was accomplished beyond burning their abandoned towns.

The party that was to operate against the settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania first appeared at Wheeling, which place they surrounded, and kept up an attack upon for some days, when not being able to effect any thing they proceeded farther up the river, pillaging the settlements and attacking the forts into which the inhabitants, by having seasonable warning, had retired.

It was about this time that the celebrated renounter between Adam Poe and the Wyandot chief took place, on the Ohio some distance above Wheeling. Its frequency of publication renders an insertion of it, perhaps, unnecessary.

Upon the close of the Revolutionary war, affairs in the Western country assumed a different aspect. The Indians no longer receiving encouragement for the prosecution of hostilities against the frontier settlements, began to lag in their vigilence, and a comparative quietude followed. The few incursions, that still were made, were rather of a predatory character than otherwise, and consequently were less noticed, as being less seriously felt.

This state of affairs gave encouragement to emigration, and the tide which had been long and signally checked, again began to roll to the west.

Pittsburgh now became a prominent point for emigrants to arrive at, and many lingering, rendered it suddenly a growing and prosperous place. The ground on which it was situated belonged to the heirs of Penn. During the Revolution the descendants of Penn had remained adherents to the British government; and, in consequence, by an act of the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1779, all their lands, except such portions as there had been actual surveys made of and returned into the land office prior to the 4th of July, 1776, together with any estates which were held by them in their private capacities, by devise, purchase, or descent, were confiscated. A manor of five thousand eight hundred acres, including Pittsburgh, and lying eastward from it, principally on the south side of the Monongahela, was one of these reserved tracts, and remained the property of the Penns.

In the spring of 1784, Mr. Tench Francis, the agent for the Penns, received instructions to lay off the manor of Pittsburgh in town lots. A Mr. George Woods of Bedford, a practical surveyor, was employed for the purpose; and in the month of May of the same year, arrived, and prosecuted the work according to instructions. The lots were immediately placed into market, and seemed to have been rapidly purchased, and the place after a few years began to assume quite a commercial aspect.

At this time, before the encroachments of buildings had despoiled the works of the old forts and the grounds in the vicinity, they are said to have been beautiful and interesting. On the bank of the Allegheny above the fort stood a row of brick buildings of handsome architecture, adjoining which were gardens, planted by officers attending in the fort, called the "King's and Artillery Gardens;" and near by them an orchard of excellent bearing apple-trees, some of which as late as 1808 was still standing, yielding superior fruit. But like the row of buildings spoken of, they were by this time principally swept away by the surly floods of the Allegheny. "Not a trace," says a writer in 1808, "of those buildings now remain, except some of the stones of their foundation, which may be seen jutting out of the bank as the earth caves into the river."

"There stood," continues the same writer, "at the point, as late as 1784, a large umbrageous tree—its fate too has been unfortunate—the floods undermined the ground, and it was swept away."

So great was the encroachment of the Allegheny on its eastern bank for some distance above its junction with the Monongahela, that during the twenty years

prior to 1800 it was supposed to have washed away a strip of land not less than seventy feet wide.\*

The appearance of Pittsburgh about this time could have been no how favorable to it. A gentleman passing through it makes mention in his journal, that "it is inhabited by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland or even Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on; the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per hundred weight, from Baltimore and Philadelphia. They take in the shops, money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, or church or chapel. The rivers encroach fast upon the town; and to such a degree, that, as a gentleman told me, the Allegheny had, within thirty years of his memory, carried away one hundred yards."

This was in 1784. Such was a picture of Pittsburgh at that time. All merchandise was transported from the east on pack-horses, and in fact for several years afterwards. Therefore, the facilities for the commencement of a growing trade were few; and the prosperity which afterwards attended the place, could scarcely have been anticipated by the most sanguine.

It was here, two years after this, the germ of the Western Press was planted; and here issued the first

\* When we take a view of the land on the opposite side of the river, it is not difficult to imagine that the Allegheny at one time wound its rapid way around the base of the high hill, leaving Hogback on the left. There is likewise a theme for the curious to speculate upon, presented by the appearance of the country between the two rivers running by the village of East Liberty. The idea is not altogether preposterous, that one of the two streams may have traversed this indentation in the general surface at some time heretofore.

newspaper to which the Western country gave birth. The first number was dated July 29, 1786.—Nearly sixty years have elapsed since, and yet the old "Pittsburgh Gazette" still survives and flourishes. Long may it continue in its prosperity, the faithful chronicler of the events of the city, with whose rise and progress it is so interestingly identified.

Two poor but enterprising journeymen printers, John Scull and Joseph Hall, young men, resolutely determined to risk the little means they were in possession of, in establishing a press here, and deservedly as fortunately for them, their project was attended with success; and by their laudable enterprise, the journal alluded to was issued, which, by directing attention to the place as well to the western country, was a means tributary to the great prosperity of both, though doubtless never duly appreciated or acknowledged.

Pittsburgh at this time was in Westmoreland county, and the courts were held at Hanna's town, on Forbes' road, at a distance of about twenty-eight miles. It was three miles west of where Greensburgh, the county seat of Westmoreland, has since been built.

Though not yet arrived at the importance of a place for a seat of justice, the inhabitants of Pittsburgh began early to anticipate for it such advantages. The growing population of the counties of Washington and Westmoreland, rendered it probable that a new county might soon be struck off.

It was soon after this the destruction of Hanna's town by the Indians, took place. Although peace had been concluded with many of the savage tribes, they still failed not to appear frequently in the settlements harassing the inhabitants. It was in harvest time. A party under the command of the fearful Girty, the men-

tion of whose name alone brought terror to every fire-side, arrived in the neighborhood of that place. The county court had just been dismissed, and those in attendance gone to their homes. It seemed to be the object of the Indians to take the inhabitants captive, rather than make a destructive attack upon them. But on the first alarm, they had hastened to the block-house; upon which the savages soon afterwards made a vigorous assault, for some time. But not being able to reduce it, determined on plundering and burning the town. When they had accomplished this, the prisoners they had taken were marched off with them, and they left the neighborhood.

A new site for a seat of justice was now chosen, and Greensburgh was built. This gave further inducement for a new county to be struck off, for which Pittsburgh should be the capital. And accordingly, on the 24th of September, 1788, an act was passed creating the county of Allegheny, out of parts of Washington and Westmoreland; and authorizing the courts to be held in Pittsburgh, until suitable buildings were erected on the reserve tract opposite to Pittsburgh. However it seems the buildings were not put under way of erection; and by an act of the 13th of April, 1791, this portion of the former act was repealed, and the trustees instructed to purchase lots in Pittsburgh, on which to erect a court-house and jail.

In 1786 the first mail was established between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. In the Pittsburgh Gazette of September 30th, of this year, we find the following paragraph:

“PHILADELPHIA, September 14, 1786.

“Mr. Brison has just returned from New York with orders to establish a post from this place to Pittsburgh, and one from Virginia to Bedford. The two to meet at Bedford.”

In the year 1785 the first permanent settlement was made in Ohio, by a company of emigrants from Boston, under the title of the "Ohio Company." One million and a half of acres, north-west of the Ohio, had been allotted to officers and soldiers doing service in the revolution. This company was composed of such persons, and repaired thither with a view of locating their lands. A stockade fort was erected for the security of the settlement, and a few months afterwards twenty more families arrived from Massachusetts, and the little colony continued in a prosperous condition. This was at the mouth of the Muskingum, and thus was Marietta founded, and the first settlement in Ohio commenced.

About the same time was made a purchase of one million of acres, by John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, lying on the Ohio, between the Great and Little Miamies. Soon afterwards a portion of the purchase, including the present site of the city of Cincinnati, was disposed of to a Mr. Denman and others. In the autumn of 1787 some families from the eastward collected at Redstone, and descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Little Miami, where, under the protection of a small company of soldiers, ordered thither for their protection, a settlement was commenced. A block-house was first erected, and soon afterwards a stockade fort, by which they were enabled to hold their position, and effect a permanent settlement.

In 1789, a company of one hundred and forty regulars under the command of Major Dougherty, landed opposite the mouth of Licking, and erected four block-houses. Shortly afterwards Fort Washington was built; when General Harmar arrived with three hundred more regulars and occupied it. Assured by the protection afforded by the fort, a few families arrived

nearly at the same time, and built some cabins along the bank of the river near it. And during the following winter lots were laid off and built upon, and the village called Losantville. Immediately afterwards General St. Clair being appointed Governor of the North Western Territory, arrived and changed the name to Cincinnati.

In 1790 settlements were commenced on the waters of the Muskingum, at some distance from the mouth.

These are among the earliest settlements made in Ohio. What a change has been wrought in that beautiful section of country since. There is perhaps no portion of the west that has kept pace with it in the march of improvement. Its settlement being commenced at a period which was soon followed by a remission of Indian hostilities; but few impediments were presented to its progress, while the great fertility of its soil, and healthfulness of climate, secured for it at once an unparalleled emigration, and its forests by magic, as it were, disappeared.

advice, and the advice of the Indians, in the general course of their march, was to have been to keep together and to be encamped. By half-past six in the morning they began to collect themselves, and by half-past seven were in full array, and ready to march.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Settlements of Ohio—Harmar's campaign—His defeat and return—St. Clair's expedition—His defeat—Settlements on the Allegheny—Brodhead and Brady—Forts erected on the Allegheny—Massy Harbison—Settlements north-west of the Allegheny—Freeport laid off.

The rapid approach of the settlements into Ohio was again the signal for a resolute attack upon the whites. Many of the most daring and determined assaults made by the savages we find to have been on account of the encroachments of the frontiers; and when viewed in this light, as enkindled by their patriotism, they fought bravely for the soil which they but too justly claimed, we are apt involuntarily to sympathise with them, and for a time justify their efforts to defend their rights and independence as a people. Yet, a doomed race, their history has ever been a series, finally, of defeats, and a further retirement into the forests, while the increasing wave of white population rolled fast in the wake.

Depredations now on the frontiers became common; and as but little could be done to arrest them without marching at once into the heart of the Indian settlements, this was early determined upon.

“Accordingly, in the autumn of 1790, General Harmar was detached at the head of three hundred regular troops, and more than one thousand militia, with orders to march upon their towns bordering upon the lakes, and inflict upon them such signal chastisement as should deter them from future depredations. On the 20th of

September, the various troops designed for the expedition rendezvoused at Fort Washington, now Cincinnati, and on the following day commenced their march to the Miami villages. The country was rough, swampy, and in many places almost impassable, so that seventeen days were consumed before the main body could come within striking distance of the enemy. In the mean time the great scarcity of provisions rendered it necessary for the General to sweep the forest with numerous small detachments, and as the woods swarmed with roving bands of Indians, most of these parties were cut off.

“At length the main body, considerably reduced by this petty warfare, came within a few miles of their towns. Here the General ordered Captain Armstrong, at the head of thirty regulars, and Colonel Hardin of Kentucky, with one hundred and fifty militia, to advance and reconnoiter. In the execution of this order they suddenly found themselves in the presence of a superior number of Indians, who suddenly arose from the bushes and opened a heavy fire upon them. The militia instantly gave way, while the regulars, accustomed to more orderly movements, attempted a regular retreat. The enemy rushed upon them tomahawk in hand, and completely surrounded them. The regulars attempted to open a passage with the bayonet, but in vain. They were all destroyed with the exception of their captain and one lieutenant.

“Captain Armstrong was remarkably stout and active, and succeeded in breaking through the enemy's line, although not without receiving several severe wounds. Finding himself hard pressed, he plunged into a deep and miry swamp, where he lay concealed during the whole night within two hundred yards of the Indian

camp, and witnessed the dances and joyous festivity with which they celebrated their victory. The lieutenant (Haitshorn) escaped by accidentally stumbling over a log and falling into a pit, where he lay concealed by the rank grass which grew around him. The loss of the militia was very trifling. Notwithstanding this severe check, Harmer advanced with the main body upon their villages, which he found deserted and in flames, the Indians having fired them with their own hands. Here he found several hundred acres of corn, which was completely destroyed. He then advanced upon the adjoining villages, which he found deserted and burned as the first had been. Having destroyed all the corn which he found, the army commenced its retreat from the Indian country, supposing the enemy sufficiently intimidated.

“ After marching about ten miles on the homeward route, General Harmer received information which induced him to suppose that a body of Indians had returned and taken possession of the village which he had just left. He detached, therefore, eighty regular troops under the orders of Major Wylls, and nearly the whole of his militia under Colonel Harden, with orders to return to the village and destroy such of the enemy as presented themselves. The detachment accordingly countermarched and proceeded with all possible despatch to the appointed spot, fearful only that the enemy might hear of their movement and escape before they could come up. The militia in loose order took the advance; the regulars moving in a hollow square brought up the rear. Upon the plain in front of the town, a number of Indians were seen, between whom and the militia a sharp action commenced. After a few rounds, with considerable effect upon both sides, the

savages fled in disorder, and were eagerly and impetuously pursued by the militia, who in the ardor of the chase were drawn into the woods to a considerable distance from the regulars.

“ Suddenly from the opposite quarter several hundred Indians appeared, rushing with loud yells upon the unsupported regulars. Major Wylls, who was a brave and experienced officer, formed his men in a square, and endeavored to gain a more favorable spot of ground, but was prevented by the desperate impetuosity with which the enemy assailed him. Unchecked by the murderous fire which was poured upon them from the different sides of the square, they rushed in masses up to the points of the bayonets, hurled their tomahawks with fatal accuracy, and putting aside the bayonets with their hands, or clogging them with their bodies, they were quickly mingled with the troops, and handled their long knives with destructive effect. In two minutes the bloody struggle was over. Major Wylls fell, together with seventy-three privates and one lieutenant. One captain, one ensign, and seven privates, three of whom were wounded, were the sole survivors of this short but desperate encounter.

“ The Indian loss was nearly equal, as they sustained several heavy fires which the closeness of their masses rendered very destructive, and as they rushed upon the bayonets of the troops with the most astonishing disregard to their own safety. Their object was to overwhelm the regulars before the militia could return to their support, and it was boldly executed as it had been finely conceived. In a short time the militia returned from the pursuit of the flying party which had decoyed them to a distance; but it was now too late to retrieve the fortune of the day. After some sharp skirmishing,

they effected their retreat to the main body, with the loss of one hundred and eight killed and twenty-eight wounded. This dreadful slaughter so reduced the strength and spirits of Harmer's army, that he was happy in being permitted to retreat unmolested, having totally failed in accomplishing the objects of the expedition, and by obstinately persevering in the ruinous plan of acting in detachments, having thrown away the lives of more than half of his regular force. This abortive expedition served only to encourage the enemy, and to give additional rancor to their incursions.

"We now come to one of the heaviest disasters which occurs in the annals of Indian warfare. The failure of Harmer made a deep impression upon the American nation, and was followed by a loud demand for a greater force, under the command of a more experienced general. General Arthur St. Clair was, at that time, governor of the northwestern territory, and had a claim to the command of such forces as should be employed within his own limits. This gentleman had uniformly ranked high as an officer of courage and patriotism, but had been more uniformly unfortunate than any other officer in the American service. He had commanded at Ticonderoga in the spring of 1777, and had conducted one of the most disastrous retreats which occurred during the revolutionary war. Notwithstanding his repeated misfortunes, he still commanded the respect of his brother officers, and the undiminished confidence of Washington. He was now selected as the person most capable of restoring the American affairs in the North West, and was placed at the head of a regular force, amounting to near fifteen hundred men, well furnished with artillery, and was empowered to call out such reinforcements of militia as might be

necessary. Cincinnati, as usual, was the place of rendezvous.

"In October, 1791, an army was assembled at that place, greatly superior in numbers, officers and equipments, to any which had yet appeared in the west. The regular force was composed of three complete regiments of infantry, two companies of artillery, and one of cavalry. The militia who joined him at Fort Washington, amounted to upwards of six hundred men, most of whom had long been accustomed to Indian warfare. The general commenced his march from Cincinnati on the ~~1~~ of October, and following the route of Harmer, arrived at Fort Jefferson without material loss, although not without having sustained much inconvenience from scarcity of provisions. The Kentucky rangers, amounting to upwards of two hundred men, had encountered several small parties of Indians, but no serious affair had as yet taken place. Shortly after leaving Fort Jefferson, one of the militia regiments, with their usual disregard to discipline, determined that it was inexpedient to proceed farther, and detaching themselves from the main body, returned rapidly to the fort on their way home. This ill-timed mutiny, not only discouraged the remainder, but compelled the General to detach the first regiment in pursuit of them, if not bring them back, at least to prevent them from injuring the stores, collected at the fort for the use of the army. With the remainder of the troops, amounting in all to about twelve hundred men, he continued his march to the great Miami villages.

"On the evening of the 3d of November, he encamped upon a very commanding piece of ground, upon the bank of one of the tributaries of the Wabash, where he determined to throw up some slight works for the pur-

pose of protecting their knapsacks and baggage, having to move upon the Miami villages, supposed to be within twelve miles, as soon as the first regiment should rejoin them. The remainder of the evening was employed in concerting the plan of the proposed work with Major Furguson of the engineers, and when the sentries were posted at night, every thing was as quiet as could have been desired. The troops were encamped in two lines, with an interval of seventy yards between them, which was all that the nature of the ground would permit. The battalions of Majors Butler, Clarke, and Patterson, composed the front line, the whole under the orders of Major General Butler, an officer of high and merited reputation. The front of the line was covered by a creek, its right flank by the river, and its left by a strong corps of infantry. The second line was composed of the battalions of Majors Gaither and Bedinger, and the second regiment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Darke. This line, like the other, was secured upon one flank by the river, and upon the other by the cavalry and pickets. The night passed away without alarm. The sentinels were vigilant, and the officers upon the alert.

“A few hours before day, St. Clair caused the reveille to be beaten, and the troops to be paraded under arms, under the expectation that an attack would probably be made. In this situation, they continued until daylight, when they were dismissed to their tents. Some were endeavoring to snatch a few minutes’ sleep, others were preparing for the expected march, when suddenly the report of a rifle was heard from the militia a few hundred yards in front, which was quickly followed by a sharp irregular volley in the same direction. The drums instantly beat to arms, the officers flew in

every direction, and in two minutes the troops were formed in order of battle. Presently the militia rushed into the camp, in the utmost disorder, closely pursued by swarms of Indians, who, in many places, were mingled with them, and were cutting them down with their tomahawks.

“ Major Butler’s battalion received the first shock, and was thrown into disorder by the tumultuous flight of the militia, who, in their eagerness to escape, bore down every thing before them. Here Major General Butler had stationed himself, and here St. Clair directed his attention, in order to remedy the confusion which began to spread rapidly through the whole line. The Indians pressed forward with great audacity, and many of them were mingled with the troops, before their progress could be checked. Major General Butler was wounded at the first fire, and before his wound could be dressed, an Indian who had penetrated the ranks of the regiment, ran up to the spot where he lay, and tomahawked him before his attendants could interpose. The desperate savage was instantly killed. By great exertions, Butler’s battalion was restored to order, and the heavy and sustained fire of the first line compelled the enemy to pause and shelter themselves.

“ This interval, however, endured but for a moment. An invisible but tremendous fire, quickly opened upon the whole front of the encampment, which rapidly extended to the rear, and encompassed the troops on both sides. St. Clair, who at that time, was worn down by a fever, and unable to mount his horse, nevertheless, as is universally admitted, exerted himself with a courage and presence of mind worthy of a better fate. He instantly directed his litter to the right of the rear line where the great weight of fire fell, and where the slaughter-

ter, particularly of the officers, was terrible. Here Darke commanded, an officer who had been trained to hard service during the revolutionary war, and who was now gallantly exerting himself to check the consternation which was evidently beginning to prevail. St. Clair ordered him to make a rapid charge with the bayonet, and rouse the enemy from their covert.

"The order was instantly obeyed, and, at first, apparently with great effect. Swarms of dusky bodies arose from the high grass, and fled before the regiment with every mark of consternation; but as the troops were unable to overtake them, they quickly recovered their courage, and kept up so fatal a retreating fire, that the exhausted regulars were compelled, in their turn, to give way. This charge, however, relieved that particular point for some time; but the weight of the fire was transferred to the centre of the first line, where it threatened to annihilate every thing within its range. There, in turn, the unfortunate General was borne by his attendants, and ordered a second appeal to the bayonet. This second charge was made with the same impetuosity as at first, and with the same momentary success. But the attack was instantly shifted to another point, where the same charge was made and the same result followed. The Indians would retire before them, still keeping up a most fatal fire, and the continentals were uniformly compelled to retire in turn. St. Clair brought up the artillery in order to sweep the bushes with grape, but the horses and artillerymen were destroyed by the terrible fire of the enemy, before any effect could be produced. They were instantly manned afresh from the infantry, and again swept of defenders.

The slaughter had now become prodigious. Four-fifths of the officers and one half of the men were either

killed or wounded. The ground was covered with bodies, and the little ravine which led to the river was running with blood. The fire of the enemy had not in the least slackened, and the troops were falling in heaps before it in every part of the camp. To have attempted to have maintained his position longer, could only have led to the total destruction of his force, without the possibility of annoying the enemy, who never showed themselves, unless when charged, and whose numbers (to judge from the weight and extent of the fire,) must have greatly exceeded his own. The men were evidently much disheartened, but the officers, who were chiefly veterans of the revolution, still maintained a firm countenance, and exerted themselves with unavailing heroism to the last. Under these circumstances, St. Clair determined to save the lives of the survivors if possible and for that purpose collected the remnants of several battalions into one corps, and at the head of which he ordered Lieutenant Colonel Darke to make an impetuous charge upon the enemy, in order to open a passage for the remainder of the army. Darke executed his orders with great spirit, and drove the Indians before him to the distance of a quarter of a mile. The remainder of the army instantly rushed through the opening, in order to gain the road! Major Clarke, with the remnant of his battalion, bringing up the rear, and endeavoring to keep the Indians in check.

“The retreat soon degenerated into a total rout. Officers who strove to arrest the panic, only sacrificed themselves. Clarke, the leader of the rear guard, soon fell in this dangerous service, and his corps were totally disorganized. Officers and soldiers were now mingled without the slightest regard to discipline, and ‘devil take the hindmost,’ was the order of the day. The

pursuit, at first, was keen; but the temptation afforded by the plunder of the camp, soon brought them back, and the wearied, wounded, and disheartened fugitives, were permitted to retire from the field unmolested. The rout continued as far as Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the scene of action. The action lasted more than three hours, during the whole of which time, the fire was heavy and incessant.

“The loss, in proportion to the number engaged, was enormous, and is unparalleled, except in the affair of Braddock. Sixty-eight officers were killed upon the spot, and twenty-eight wounded. Out of nine hundred privates who went into action, five hundred and fifty were left dead upon the field, and many of the survivors were wounded. General St. Clair was untouched, although eight balls passed through his hat and clothes, and several horses were killed under him. The Indian loss was reported by themselves at fifty-eight killed and wounded, which was probably underrated, as they were never visible after the first attack, until charged with the bayonet. At Fort Jefferson, the fugitives were joined by the first regiment, who, as noticed above, had been detached in pursuit of the deserters. Here a council of war was called, which terminated in the unanimous opinion, that the junction with the first regiment did not justify an attempt upon the enemy in the present condition of affairs, and that the army should return to Fort Washington without delay. This was accordingly done, and thus closed the second campaign against the Indians.”\*

During the years 1790 and the year following, settlements along the Allegheny began to be vigorously commenced. In 1784, the lands on the north-western side

\* *Western Adventure.*

of the river had been surveyed; but as the channel of the stream, was still looked upon as the line between the settlements and the Indian country, but few were willing to hazard a residence beyond it for several years. And at a time when the settlements were strewed along it on either shore for more than forty miles from its mouth, scarcely a single improvement was to be found any distance from it to the north-west.

The stream at some distance above being occupied by hostile Indians, the Senecas and Munsies, who not unfrequently come down upon the unsuspecting settlers, spreading alarm and consternation among them, rendered a residence in this part of the country precarious, and perhaps retarded the settlement much. Had it not been for the early protection given by Brodhead, and the startling victories achieved by his daring "Captain of the spies," thus early, awing the savages into comparative silence, there is reason to believe there often would have been just cause for alarm, which the appearance of a single savage in his canoe descending the river, long afterwards, in time of peace, was accustomed to create.

During the revolutionary war, Crawford's Fort and one at Kittanning, were the only ones on this stream. About 1790, a number betwixt the latter place and Fort Pitt were erected. Coe's station, as these posts were called, stood on the opposite side of the river from Crawford's Fort, and nearly a mile below. This latter fort, bearing the name of the lamented individual who erected it some time prior to 1778, had, by this time, from a disoccupancy of it for several years, fallen into disrepair. Reed's station was the next above, which had been built about the same time with Coe's, but on being accidentally burned shortly after St. Clair's de-

feat, was removed a mile and a half higher up the river, to the present site of the borough of Freeport, where it continued to be commanded for some time, by Captain John Craig, still a resident of that vicinity. Nickolson's and Green's were two others intermediate to Kittanning. The former at the mouth of what is called Nickolson's Run, about seven miles above Freeport, and the latter six miles below Kittanning.

It was early in the summer of 1792, the capture of Massy Harbinson, the most memorable of any on the Allegheny frontier, occurred.

Upon the close of Wayne's war in 1794, that portion of Western Pennsylvania, between the Allegheny and Lake Erie, began to be settled.

In 1796, the village of Freeport was laid off, and known for a time as Todd's town, being named after the proprietor.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

Simon Girty—Character and causes of desertion—His attack on Wheeling—Rescues Kenton—His battle at the Piqua Towns—Present at the burning of Colonel Crawford—His present speech before a grand council of the Indians at Chillicothe—His attack on Bryant's Station and battle of the Blue Licks—His subsequent life—Whiskey insurrection—Wayne's war and victory—Conclusion.

We will now attempt to give a recapitulation of the most prominent incidents in the life of

“The outlawed white-man, by Ohio's flood,  
Whose vengeance shamed the Indian's thirst for blood;  
Whose hellish arts surpassed the Redman's far;  
Whose hate enkindled many a border war,  
Of which each aged grandame hath a tale  
At which man's bosom burns, and childhood's cheek grows pale.”

Simon Girty—but few have not heard his name pronounced with horror. Strangely forswearing his white nature and leaguing himself with the Indians, where has not the thrice-told tales of his renegado career been listened to with an intense curiosity! Of a daring as a perhaps reckless, vindictive nature, the startling incidents of his singular life gave him a notoriety that will descend to futurity inseparable with the border history of the country.

Of his real character doubtless the public knew but little. The many acts of seeming cruelty committed under his command called down upon him the unspared reproach of his white brethren, when, perhaps, in justice to him, the inhumanity shown his savage allies was not

in many instances, surpassed. The life he had espoused required an exercise of those customs and modes of warfare common to the people with whom he had joined himself, and of necessity the whiteman must become the savage to appearance, though still his former self in character.

His history becomes the more curious, when it is recollect that, perhaps, no braver or truer patriot, at one time, fought for his country; for his desertion did not take place till some years after the commencement of the Revolution, during which time he had rendered much valuable service to his countrymen, and, doubtless, was as warmly enlisted in the cause of freedom as any of his compatriots in arms. But a man of great resolution and an ambition that would not be trammelled, when, by a combination of circumstances, his promotion in arms did not keep pace with what he considered himself justly entitled to, his aspiring nature sought a new field of action; and as he rose to distinction among those with whom he had leagued himself, a direful vengeance was wreaked upon the heads of those who had denied him what he considered the just reward of his merits.

Simon Girty was a native of one of the middle counties of Pennsylvania, and early in life had removed to the Western frontier. He had four brothers, some of whom had likewise taken up their abode with the Indians, but not possessed of a like ambitious spirit, but little was heard or known of them.

Upon the occurrence of Dunmore's campaign we have the first notice of Girty, acting then a prominent part as a hunter and a spy, in either of which none was said to be more expert. A portion of the troops for this expedition, being the first ever regularly raised on

the western frontier for its protection, were rendezvoused at Fort Pitt, in the neighborhood of which Girty resided, where he was engaged as a spy before the army. Prior to this, and perhaps at this time, he was receiving pay from the government for services as an Indian agent. Like the celebrated Frenchman, Joncaire, he delighted in the reckless scenes of the life of the savage, and never seemed to enjoy existence more than when abroad on hunting excursions, or in the Indian's camp haranguing the assembled warriors. Thus early mingling with those to whom he finally betook himself, his familiarity with them rendered him a suitable person as agent for the government. He accompanied Dunmore from Fort Pitt, and bore the despatches with another, as has been related, from the mouth of Hockhocking to General Lewis at the Kenhawa.

After returning from this expedition no mention is made of him till about 1778, further than he early joined himself with the patriots, on the outbreak of the Revolution. It was not long before the date spoken of that he abandoned his countrymen, and with the Indians took up arms against them. •

Upon the commencement of the Revolution, as has been intimated, he was among the first to espouse the cause of liberty; and is said to have evinced a zeal and activity not surpassed by his most enthusiastic associates. But being withheld in his aspirations to rise in command, his ardent nature was finally chilled and turned to hatred, by the appointment of an officer inferior in years to a superior command. Yet with all the indignity, as he considered it, heaped upon him, he nevertheless was willing to submit on conditions that he should receive his pay regularly. But little remuneration was given soldiers in the Revolutionary army,

and often less received than promised. Girty had been accustomed to receive a good salary for his services as agent; and the inadequacy of the pay he was to have from the American army, even if regularly obtained, began to be experienced by him. Accordingly disheartened, and embittered at many who undeservedly had been placed higher in the ranks, in an hour of disquietude he cursed his countrymen and betook himself to the savages; where, in British pay, and soon promoted to a high command in the Indian army, his ambition found a field for its display, and his wounded and vindictive feelings an opportunity to demand a fearful satisfaction.

Upon joining the Indians he was immediately adopted into the Wyandot ranks. The first account we have of him, subsequent to his desertion, is his appearing before Wheeling with a large force of Indians demanding a surrender of the place, and offering protection and a safe escort to Detroit to those who would join the tories. The fort was besieged for some time, but not being able to reduce it, some prisoners and scalps were taken in the neighborhood, and the assailants left.

The next account we have of him, was his meeting with Kenton, an old and valued associate, then a prisoner at Lower Sandusky, and about to be burnt. Being brought in, blackened and prepared for the stake, Girty at first did not recognise him, and treated him somewhat ill. Learning the prisoner was brought from Kentucky he began to interrogate him respecting the force of troops in it. The names of many of the officers were then spoken of. "Do you know William Stewart," asked Girty. "Perfectly well," replied Kenton. "Ah, what is *your* name then?" "Simon But-

ler," answered Kenton, for that was an assumed name by which he had long been known.

At the mention of the name, Girty sprang forward and caught his old comrade in his arms and embraced him affectionately. They had been bosom companions for many years at Fort Pitt, and associates in Dunmore's campaign. Their meeting was said to be deeply interesting. Girty was much affected, and shed tears on beholding the misfortunes of his old friend. He at once promised to do all that he could to save his life. "Syme," said he, weeping like a child, "you are condemned to die; it will go hard with me I tell you, but I will save you from *that*."

Girty was a man of considerable eloquence, and spoke the Indian tongue with fluency. By this time he had won no little influence among the Indians. When he had spoken to Kenton in the words quoted, he turned to the assembled warriors, who stood astonished spectators of the scene, and addressed them in a short and eloquent speech. He told them "that the prisoner whom they had just condemned to the stake, was his ancient comrade and bosom friend: that they had traveled the same war-path, slept upon the same blanket, and dwelt in the same wigwam. He entreated them to have compassion on his feelings—to spare him the agony of witnessing the torture of an old friend by the hands of his adopted brothers—and not to refuse so trifling a favor as the life of a white man, to the earnest intercession of one who had proved that he was sincerely and zealously devoted to the cause of the Indians."\*

A profound silence reigned while Girty spoke; and

\* M'Clung.

when he had finished, several of the chiefs expressed their approbation, while others as readily demurred. A council was now called, and the subject discussed. Girty again spoke, and in most eloquent terms plead for his doomed associate; who, though not understanding perhaps a word that was said, knew by the seeming great earnestness of Girty, that he was interceding for him. The war-club was then produced, and the votes taken. Happily the majority were in favor of a reprieve; and Kenton was unbound from the stake.

Girty evinced great kindness towards him. He supplied him with refreshments and some articles of dress. Kenton, though spared life, was not restored to liberty: but happily, after some time, effected an escape, and returned to the settlements in Kentucky.

Many imprecations were breathed against Girty for his alleged conduct at the *burning of Colonel Crawford*; which happened about two years after his laudable rescue of Kenton. After an impartial inquiry into the circumstances attending that melancholy event, it is probable less censure would be heaped upon the renegado than has generally been apportioned to him. In the first place, Colonel Crawford's fate was irretrievably sealed from the moment he became a prisoner. It was instantly resolved that his blood should flow expiatory of the crimes committed by the infamous murderers of the Moravian Indians; many of the survivors of that unfortunate people being present, and clamoring loudly for revenge.

A few minutes before the execution of Crawford, he was visited by *Wingenund*, a chief of distinction, whom he had sent for to his cabin near by, knowing him to be a warm friend, and thinking that he perhaps would interpose to save him. When Wingenund appeared be-

fore him, where he stood naked, bound to the stake, he was inquired of by Colonel Crawford if he knew him. The chief, on recognising an old acquaintance, seemed confused, and with embarrassment asked, if he was not Colonel Crawford? Crawford answering that he was, eagerly inquired if he could intercede for his life. The chief was deeply affected, but promptly told him that all intercession was useless; for Captain Pipe, at whose disposal he was, had irrevocably pronounced death upon him, because of his being the leader of a gang of murderers, who but a short time before had destroyed the Moravians; therefore, though he was not their commander at that time, he was of their number at present, and could not possibly escape the revenge of his exasperated captors. This was a death-knell to the hopes of Crawford. The chief bidding him adieu with tears in his eyes, turned towards his cabin that he might not witness the tortures of one he esteemed, yet to whom he could not extend assistance.

This circumstance is mentioned to show how unalterably fixed was the fate of Crawford, and beyond the reach of change by any. Wingenund was a chief of influence, yet he knew the utter uselessness there was in an attempt to save the life of the prisoner.

Girty has been censured for not interfering for Crawford, being a former acquaintance. It is known, upon his first interview with the unfortunate Colonel, that he promised to do all that was in his power. But doubtless, like Wingenund, he had discovered the impracticability of the attempt, and perhaps fearful of endangering his popularity among the Indians, his alleged conduct was to be accounted for. He took no active part in the burning of Crawford, Passing by the place of execution on horseback, he detained for a while, when he

was said to give vent to his vindictive feelings against the prisoner and his countrymen.

An additional reason why Girty may not have seemed to endeavor to save the life of Crawford was, as is known, that no friendship, but even a strong dislike, had existed between them for years. And when it is recollected that at that period it was not an unusual thing to utterly disregard life, where a breach of friendship occurred between individuals, his demeanor is to be somewhat accounted for.

We have been induced to present these remarks in justice to the renegade whiteman, on account of their being the impressions entertained by our informants, who were the personal acquaintances of Girty. We have conversed with as many as three of these, in Western Pennsylvania, who still survive, and declare that Girty, though bad enough, had an undue share of infamy heaped upon him, and often had the curses of his countrymen for acts that he knew nothing of. The fact of his desertion alone should have justly rendered him an object of reproach; but it is a duty that should not be overlooked by those that pretend to present facts, that justice should be done in every instance, and truth always be impartially kept in view.

Where we next hear of Girty is his attendance at a grand council held by most of the tribes of the northwest, at old Chillicothe. Here he again gave a grand display of his eloquence, and by a most animated harangue set on foot an extensive and fearful campaign against the frontiers. He headed the portion of the Indian army that proceeded against the settlements of Kentucky; and after leaving Bryant's station which he had besieged some days without effect, and reaching the Blue Licks he fought the destructive battle of that

place, and routed the whites with great slaughter. His next skirmish was at the Piqua towns; when, at the head of three hundred bold and active warriors, he gave Colonel Clark a decisive repulse for a time. But unwilling to expose his warriors longer to a destructive fire, though victory promised, he withdrew, with curses that he could not fight without so great loss to himself.

Many were the savage parties that he led against the frontiers of Pennsylvania about this time. The burning of Hanna's town, the seat of justice for Westmoreland county, was an act of savage audacity under his command; and at this period his name carried with it a sense of chilling dread wherever it was mentioned.

He was among the victors on the fatal field of St. Clair, 1791, and at the battle of the Fallen Timber in 1794. Upon the treaty of peace by Wayne with the Indians he retired to Canada, where he became a trader, and towards the close of his life gave himself up to intoxicating drinks.

Of his death we have no certain accounts, but it is presumed he died in his own house in comparative silence and obscurity; though stated, that his restless spirit for several years had yearned for the stir of battle, and that it was his prayer that he might expire amid the din and clash of arms on a bloody field. And it is added that he had the gratification in Proctor's defeat in 1814, where he was among those of the Indian forces who were hewn down by Col. Johnson's regiment.

It was in 1794 the memorable "Whiskey Insurrection" broke out. By an act of Congress passed in 1791, and amended in 1793, an excise duty was laid on stills and the manufacture of liquor. In Western Pennsylvania an unusual quantity was manufactured, on account of a surplus amount of grain being grown there

for which there was no ready market. The country being filled with distilleries, and each manufacturer vying with the other in producing the best article, soon as renowned as the subsequent revels of the "Whiskey Boys," was the superior qualities made. Who, still residing within the limits of the country, does not recollect the encomiums bestowed on the article of "Old Monongahela;" the praises of which were sung by every boatman from the head-springs of the Ohio to the shores of the Louisiana?

The tax imposed being heavy, the manufacturers determined to resist the laws by force of arms. Accordingly liberty poles were hoisted, and public meetings held by the Insurgents at Pittsburgh, Braddock's Fields, Brownsville, and various other places, where resolute measures were adopted to defeat the laws and prevent the officers of the government from forcing them into compliance. In pursuance of their determination many alarming acts were committed.

Bills of indictment being presented in the United States Court, and writs issued against the principal offenders, the Marshall had repaired to the scene of disorder, and while at the house of General Neville, the still and liquor inspector, four miles below Pittsburgh, was assailed with that gentleman, by about five hundred of the Insurgents, and the papers of the two destroyed, and the property of the latter burned down. The Marshall was retained prisoner, rudely treated, and only released on the solemn promise that he would make no further proceedings against them west of the mountains. Fearful of again being taken, he, with Neville, who had eluded them, escaped down the Ohio, and by a circuitous route, reached the seat of Government. The mail for the eastward was now arrested and cut open, that

they might discover who were their most violent enemies. A general convention was next held by delegates at Parkison's Ferry, on the Monongahela, for the purpose of compelling all officers engaged in the collection of the excise duties, to resign, and to prepare for defence by force of arms against the authorities of the country. This called for prompt action on the part of the general government. Accordingly, a proclamation was issued by president Washington, commanding the Insurgents to disperse against a certain time. But in the event of their failing to do so, an order was issued for the enlistment of twelve thousand militia, east of the mountains, to be in readiness to march at the appointed time. While the troops were being prepared three persons were deputed by Washington to visit the Insurgents, and offer a general pardon to all who would in future comply with the law. The offer was not accepted, and it became necessary to proceed with the army into the country. The troops being rendezvoused at Bedford and Cumberland, were marched in two divisions, and on arriving in the west, the Insurrectionists over-awed by their appearance, quietly submitted, and rolling out barrels of their best liquor, gave the troops a friendly and welcome reception. A few who refused to give assurance of future obedience, were arrested and taken to Philadelphia, where they were tried for high treason, but principally pardoned afterwards. Thus ended the notable "Whiskey Insurrection," which, at one time, bid fair to involve the whole country in a civil war.

We now return to the difficulties with the savages in the north-west. The great dissatisfaction of the public with the unfortunate St. Clair, called for the appointment of a new commander, for the prosecution of the

war. This was accordingly conferred on General Anthony Wayne, of Pennsylvania.

On receiving the appointment, he immediately repaired to Fort Washington, it being in the spring of 1793, and more than a year since the defeat of St. Clair. The troops for the campaign that was now projected, was to be raised; and before they could be collected, and the necessary supplies procured, the summer had passed and the winter season arrived; when it was concluded to defer a procedure till the opening of spring. During the winter, however, a fort was erected on the west fork of the Little Miami, called Greenville, and another on the battle ground of St. Clair, which they gave the name of Recovery.

It was late in the ensuing July before the army was ready to march. Wayne had been solicitous of concluding peace; and during the winter had made propositions to that effect. And now, on marching against the Indians, again despatched a person to them offering terms; but receiving an evasive answer, determined at once on a most resolute attack.

The Indian army was assembled in the neighborhood of the British fort at the rapids of the Miami. The ground occupied by them was a thick wood, beside the river; the timber of which had been principally prostrated by a hurricane; and, therefore, formed a most desirable battle-field for the savages, affording every protection from their opponents.

Having discovered the position of the enemy, the troops were arranged at various points for the attack, which was to be commenced at a given signal, by rushing upon the savages and routing them at the point of the bayonet, and, when put to flight, to open upon them the reserved fire, and continue the pursuit, re-loading and keeping up the assault.

The plan succeeded well. The troops suddenly rushing upon the Indians through a destructive fire, and leaping over the fallen timber, behind which they lay, put them to flight, and pursued them more than two miles.

The loss sustained by Wayne was thirty killed and one hundred wounded; and that of the savages, though not correctly known, was supposed to be greater.

The Indians being completely routed their corn was destroyed, and their cabins burnt. On return of the army, a fort was erected at the mouth of the Auglaize and Miami; and being in the heart of the Indian country, and designed to hold the Indians in check, was appropriately called Defiance.

The tribes generally of the north-west intimidated with the decisive victory gained over them at the rapids, sued for peace, and hostilities at once ceased. Here closed the protracted warfare with the savages in the west, which had raged with little remission for more than twenty years. The profound peace that now ensued was not broken till the revival of the war under the noted Tecumseh and the Prophet.

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